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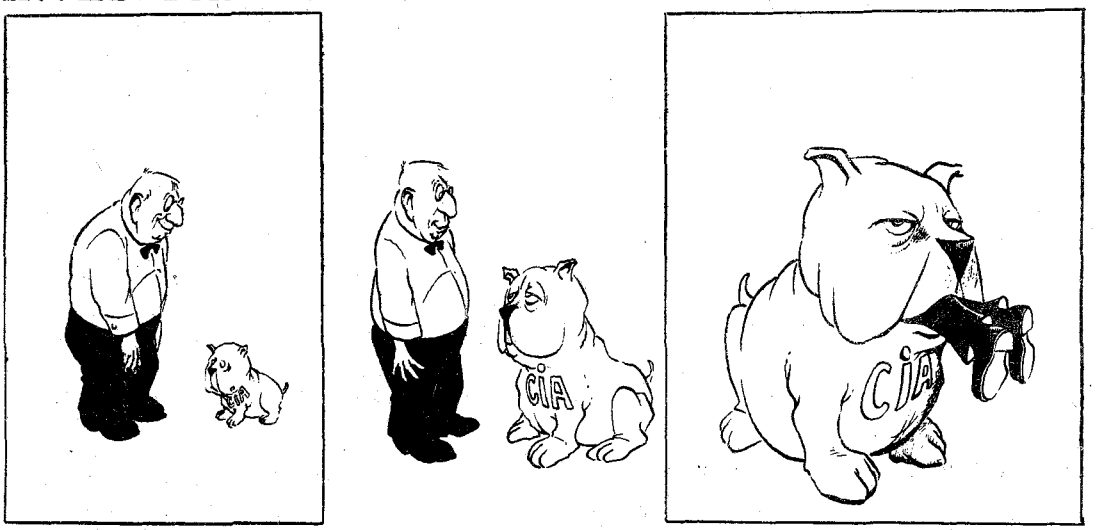

MEMOS TO THE CHAIRMEN

Frank J. Donner **Jo Pomerance**

Famine in Africa—No Act of God

Alan Matt Warhaftig

THE HUMAN UNIVERSE OF LANCELOT LAW WHYTE

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EDITORIALS

Kissinger's Men in Africa

There is mounting evidence that, having helped suppress socialism in Chile, Secretary of State Kissinger has shifted at least some of his imperial energies to the burgeoning revolutionary efforts in Africa. Perhaps in response to the liberation of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau from Portuguese rule, the mounting internal resistance in Rhodesia and the external pressure on South Africa, Kissinger and President Ford have chosen Nathaniel Davis, a veteran of the Chilean experience, to be Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee is hearing testimony on the nomination. It is one of three Kissinger selections that suggest what may be an ambitious African program.

Except for a Kissinger reminder that, as deputy associate director of the Peace Corps, the new Assistant Secretary visited a half dozen African countries, Davis has had no experience on the continent. But his record suspiciously parallels Washington's counterrevolutionary machinations in Latin America. He was Ambassador to Chile at the time of the coup and Ambassador to Guatemala during the American intervention there. The Washington Office on Africa, a church-related group, notes that Davis "doesn't even speak French, a disqualification in communication with Francophone Africa."

It is also widely believed among Africa watchers that Kissinger is planning to nominate William Bowdler, Davis' successor in Guatemala, to replace John Hurd as Ambassador to South Africa. Bowdler's apparent area of expertise is Cuba. After five years as a political officer in Havana, he returned to Washington when Castro seized power, and served there as officer in charge of "special political problems" in the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs. Bowdler was a member of the American team at the Organization of American States when the United States led the OAS expulsion and boycott effort against Cuba.

Completing this Kissinger triumvirate for Africa is Deane Hinton, the AID chief from 1967 to 1971 in, first, Guatemala and then Chile. Hinton was confirmed as Ambassador to Zaïre last June. Like Davis and Bowdler, he is a career diplomat; his only previous African experience was as vice consul in Mombasa in the late 1940s.

Davis has been nominated to replace Donald Easum, a man with wide African experience. The switch is significant. Just last month, Rep. Charles Diggs (D., Mich.) reported from Zaïre that there is "rapidly growing dismay in African circles" about the Davis nomination. The Washington Office on Africa attributes to State Department sources information that Davis was initially picked as Ambassador to Nigeria—the post is now vacant—but was vetoed by the Nigerians because of his background in Chile. In contrast, Zaïrian President Mobutu last month said "all African leaders had hailed" Easum's appointment to the State Department job. Mobutu, no enemy of the American Government, called Easum a "great diplomat" with "an accurate knowledge of decolonization and apartheid problems." He praised Easum for his openness to the Africans with whom he worked. "He believes in learning and being informed," Mobutu said, "and not dictating orders."

The State Department cover story for the Latin Americanization of its Africa corps is that Kissinger has wanted to move career diplomats out of their old posts and into new areas, supposedly to prevent the development of excessively close relationships between foreign service officers and their hosts and to encourage the broadening of ambassadorial perspectives.

The Latin America-Africa moves are not the first of this sort, but another explanation seems more credible. Mobutu and others say Easum was fired. The Washington Office on Africa says he was recalled because of recent anti-apartheid comments he made in Southern Africa. On Zambian TV Easum said American support of "continued South African participation in the U.N. is continuously under review. It is not concrete and forever." Whether his comments were out of line with American policy or whether it was his public recitation of them that Kissinger considered *impolitique* is a matter of some debate. Officially, Easum was not fired, but he had had his job for less than a year.

Diggs, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Africa, and the Washington Office on Africa are among those who oppose Davis' appointment. In response to a telegram urging that the nomination be withdrawn, Kissinger wired Diggs, "We have selected wisely in nominating Ambassador Davis for the African post." Given Davis' experience, and that of Bowdler and Hinton in Latin America, and the growing fragility of white, anti-Communist rule in Africa, we may learn all too soon how wise "we" have been.

Policy by Stealth

How this country became involved in Vietnam is the subject of ongoing but inconclusive debate. But a consensus should be possible on a central proposition: "one thing led to another," that is, actions were taken which had consequences, with the result that American power was committed through an accretion of relatively minor decisions which were arrived at without serious public debate and hence without a clear statement of policy or objectives.

Now, in a more volatile part of the world, we are again slipping into positions and relationships without serious public debate or a clear agreement on objectives and policy. In addition to massive arms sales to Saudi Arabia and the presence there of 160 or more U.S. military advisers—one is said to sit on the Saudi security committee—the Defense Department has now awarded the Vinnell Corporation of Los Angeles a $77-million contract to teach Saudi Arabian troops how to protect oil wells. A 1,000-man team, many of them former members of the U.S. Special Forces in Vietnam, will be stationed in Saudi Arabia to carry out the three-year program. The circuitous method of financing the program is said to have been made necessary by "the political climate"

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which might be critical if the Defense Department were acting directly rather than through Vinnell. "We are not mercenaries," one former U.S. Army officer is quoted as saying (*The New York Times*, February 9), "because we are not pulling the triggers. We train people to pull triggers." The Saudi Arabians are, of course, picking up the tab.

In the last two years we have sold Iran $6 billion in arms. We have military advisers there, along with a sizable and growing colony of civilians employed by American arms manufacturers who have contracts with the Iranians. Richard Helms is our Ambassador in Teheran when he is not testifying before Congressional committees in Washington, and the CIA has shifted its Mideast headquarters from Cyprus to Iran. The Shah now has a force estimated at 2,000 troops in Oman and has undertaken to guarantee the inviolability of its air space against intrusion by the Soviet-supplied South Yemeni Air Force. Washington has sent an ambassador to Oman, along with a few military advisers who are to instruct Omani forces how to operate Tow anti-tank missiles. This is the first known direct sale of U.S. equipment to Oman, which now promises to be a substantial cash customer (it exports 100 million barrels of oil a year). Following the visit of Sultan Qabus bin Said to Washington last month, it was reported that the United States will be permitted to land military aircraft on the Omani offshore island of Masirah. We have also stationed a three-ship fleet—EASTFOR—on the island of Bahrein. So-called "commitments" grow out of precisely this kind of incremental process, which might be described as slipping into commitments without attracting too much concern on the part of press, Congress or the public.

These and other U.S. actions are justified on various grounds: we must counter growing Soviet influence in the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean; we must protect our "special relationship" with Iran and Saudi Arabia; arms sales—even Pakistan may be allowed to make arms purchases, after a ten-year ban—offset rising oil prices and constitute a form of insurance against another oil embargo. But in the future the Saudi Arabian and Iran regimes, despite awesome "security forces," may well be threatened by "liberation" movements—witness the large number of political prisoners in Iran, and the fact that Iran's concern about Oman can be traced to the rebel forces in Yemen. In brief, the potential for trouble in the region is even greater than it was in Indochina.

Rep. Lee H. Hamilton (D., Ind.), who chairs the subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee directly involved, voiced some misgivings about recent U.S. actions in a speech at Johns Hopkins (the *Congressional Record*, January 29, p. E-234). He is concerned about the sales of arms in the region and our failure to place greater emphasis on economic, commercial and technological factors (Japan sells more nonmilitary goods and services in Saudi Arabia than we do, and France and Britain are upping their exports to OPEC countries). If we are to be concerned with the security of Iran and Saudi Arabia, as by selling them arms and technology, then they must be concerned about our security and sell us oil at "tolerable prices." (Both countries are key powers in OPEC.)

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Representative Hamilton is particularly concerned about any military role that we might play in "the small states of the Gulf," such as Oman. He feels that "trade in oil can no longer be left solely to a handful of oil companies and exporting countries. The interests of too many Americans are too closely linked to the results of these negotiations for them to be unrepresented at the negotiating table." He is worried because the Arab-Israeli conflict is now a major factor in our Persian Gulf policies; the two can no longer be separated. He stresses that our backing of Iran has contributed to its dominance in the region, "which is not necessarily in our interest or in the interest of regional cooperation among all our friends. We should continually evaluate the degree of policy support we give Iran and the unproved and undebated premise of our policy that Iran acts in our interest. The Shah acts in Iran's own interests and these interests are not necessarily compatible with our own." In the same vein, Representative Hamilton adds: "I am disturbed when we simply announce—with no public debate or even knowledge that a decision is imminent—that we will significantly depart from past policy and begin selling sophisticated weapons to Oman and seek base rights on the island of Masirah."

That is the crux of the matter. The problem is to keep policy from being the captive of a series of actions taken without public debate and, too often, without public awareness of the entire sequence of decisions. Vietnam should have been a sufficient warning, but apparently it wasn't.

Profit vs. Lives

American plane crashes killed 467 persons last year. In all, there were nine fatal accidents. In just one, on December 1, ninety-one died when their plane crashed into a mountain during a landing approach to Dulles International Airport. Less than three months earlier, seventy-two persons were killed when an incoming plane crashed into trees near the Charlotte, N.C. airport. Also last year there were thirty-eight nonfatal commercial airline accidents and a reported 2,000 "near misses" in the air that involved twice that many commercial and private planes.

While, statistically, flying may be one of the safest means of getting from place to place, there is compelling evidence that these deaths, or at least many of them, need not have occurred. The National Transportation Safety Board last October put much of the blame on "pilot unprofessionalism." The pilots, understandably, say that's not the answer. According to information that Peter Arnett reported in a recent AP dispatch, many of the deaths seem to have been the result of Federal Aviation Administration reluctance to increase airport and airplane safety requirements. Why? They would cost the industry too much money.

Two examples of many that Arnett discovered are worth recounting. That Dulles flight, TWA 514, was heading for one of the 1,400 American runways (out of 1,800) that lack what is called an Instrument Landing System (ILS). The system, as Arnett described it, "provides precision approaches to runways—the aircraft flies down to an electronic 'string' on the ground." Flight 514 crashed because its crew could not find the runway. During the same week, two other planes narrowly missed a similar disaster on the same runway.

That week's experience alone should have led the FAA to require an ILS on Dulles runway 12, where all three planes were trying to land. But no ILS was forthcoming. "They cost hundreds of thousands of dollars," Richard Scully, chief of flight standards for the FAA, told Arnett. "Runway 12 at Dulles is not an active runway. . . . I don't think it will have an ILS by the year 2000. It is 500th on our priority list." In response, a pilots' association executive said: "That's just the trouble. Dulles runway 12 is used only when every other runway is out with bad weather. That is when the electronic system is needed. That is when it pays off." There are other runway hazards. Wet ramps can cause accidents, yet the FAA does not require manufacturers to test their planes on wet runways. Square-cut grooves can slow down slipping planes; the FAA recommends them but does not require them.

Nor does the FAA require that all plane equipment be working at take-off—up to ten malfunctions are allowed. The FAA reportedly allowed one United Airlines 727 to take off from Los Angeles in 1969 with only two of its three generators in action. When the plane was airborne, another generator went out. The thirty-eight passengers and crew on board died when the plane crashed after an electrical failure.

Pilots, who risk their lives flying under this misregulation, have suggested a number of safety improvements. The FAA has been largely unresponsive, so much so that a House subcommittee last year accused the FAA of "sluggishness which at times approaches an attitude of indifference to public safety."

Like the Atomic Energy Commission before its recent split, the FAA is charged with promoting the industry it is supposed to be regulating for the public safety. The House subcommittee found cases where safety improvements were "unreasonably delayed or omitted entirely" by the FAA because of extra costs to the industry. The installation of one such required device—it orders pilots to pull up to avoid crashing—has been postponed, very possibly at a cost of human life. "The attempt to balance dollars against lives benefits no one," the House subcommittee said.

The FAA should be split into separate promotional and regulatory bodies, to avoid what has been a blatant conflict of interest. But, as with the AEC, that may prove to be just the first required remedy. The problem of federal regulatory commissions requires generic analysis and remedies. In part to deal with the problem of regulation of industry in the interests of the regulated, Ralph Nader and others have been fighting for a new Consumer Protection Agency that would advance public interest concerns in the regulatory forums. The bill creating such an agency was defeated last year by Senate filibuster. Its promise has yet to be tested. Whether or not it passes, regulatory commissions like the FAA need constant watch. And regulatory commissioners who favor profits over lives should be challenged and removed.

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The Children Still Wait

Several months ago we published a piece by Michael Edwards ["Medical Care for the Young: The Children Are Still Waiting," September 28, 1974] which detailed the failure of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to implement a 1968 law requiring free preventive medical care for millions of poor children who stood in urgent need of it. As Edwards pointed out: "Each day that the government fails to make this program function is another day of sickness and suffering for the children of poverty."

In response, HEW Secretary Caspar Weinberger wrote us a long letter ["A Question of Implementation," November 2, 1974] outlining what he said was evidence that his department was "throwing the full weight of its resources behind" enforcement of the law. He said that a portion of Edwards' analysis "displays a lack of understanding of the program."

Now comes a General Accounting Office study initiated by Rep. Ralph Metcalfe (D., Ill.) that confirms in page after page of analysis what Edwards wrote. An investigation of eight sample states showed that, as of June 30, 1973, only about 3 per cent of the 1.8 million children eligible had been checked. Nationwide, some 10 million were eligible. This does not quite jibe with the impression Weinberger gave when he claimed to *The Nation* that "This year about 3 million poor children will be screened . . . in addition to the 2 million who have already been screened." The nationwide screening rate as of June 30, 1973 was 7 per cent. Since the GAO and Weinberger's figures cover different periods, they cannot be precisely compared. In any case, what is important is HEW's response to the GAO charge that

> HEW was slow in developing regulations. Also, HEW has not aggressively tried to make States comply with the law and Federal regulations. . . . As a result, only a small percentage of children have been screened.

The department now says it "plans to move aggressively" against those states that fail to comply. A similar response was made in 1969, 1970 and 1971.

A law enacted with a great deal of hoopla seven years ago has yet to be enforced. As Edwards put it in a letter just last week: "As can be readily seen—despite Mr. Weinberger's claim to the contrary—millions of poor children are still being denied medical care they need and deserve, and to which they are entitled as a matter of law."

Not Never

Responding to an allegation published by *Advertising Age*, Don Johnston, president of J. Walter Thompson, has stated: "I have assured our people that the J. Walter Thompson Co. does not have now, will not have, nor do I have any knowledge of the company ever having had any relationship, official or unofficial, with the CIA."

Mr. Johnston is no doubt old enough to remember the McCarthy era and, in his hour of pain, has subconsciously mimicked its ritual language. We sympathize with his plight—no one likes to be called a fellow traveler of the CIA—but he is overreacting: Senator Church and company are out hunting spooks, not witches.

Famine in Africa: No Act of God

ALAN MATT WARHAFTIG

> *Lord, Hearken to my voice,* Let It Rain. *It rains*
> *And you have opened from your arms of thunder the cataracts of forgiveness.*

The image created by Léopold Sédar Senghor in these lines from "Elegy of the Waters" is elemental—close to the earth and water cycle that sustains it. Water is the blood of the earth; without water there can be no harvests, no erosion (change), no life.

For seven long painful years there was a drought in Senghor's native Senegal and other nations of the Sudano-Sahel region of Africa. Whether by divine providence, as suggested in Senghor's elegy or by meteorological chance, the rains have returned to the Sahel, ending the drought and bringing some relief to the atrophied land and the people who live and work on it. Life can emerge again in the Sahel, which for so long has only known the torturous negation of life.

While many observations remain to be made about the image created by Senghor—its style, context and assumptions—the purpose of this essay is to pose several important questions about the drought and the famine which accompanied it; and in so doing to suggest some issues which must be confronted if future tragedies are to be prevented in the Sahel.

From the outset, the distinction needs to be drawn between drought and famine, for they are not the same. Drought is a natural phenomenon defined by a prolonged absence of rainfall; famine is a social phenomenon characterized by an acute shortage of food. Drought does not necessarily lead to famine, at least in the short run. It is unthinkable that drought in Scandinavia or some other economically developed region would cause famine. Agricultural production in such regions features highly developed technologies, including sophisticated irrigation systems which can transport water to areas deprived of it. That is not true of the Sahel. Also, an industrially developed nation confronted by drought can use the surplus

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created in nonagricultural sectors of its economy to trade with other nations for the food commodities it could not produce. But the nations of the Sahel are not industrially developed.

Thus Prof. Tetteh Kofi of Stanford University's Food Research Institute observes that: "Drought in the Sahel region and the inability of the nations to control famine should not be looked at from the point of view of a natural disaster arising from a temporary drought, but rather from the view of a breakdown of social and economic institutions in the area. . . ." Kofi attributes this breakdown to colonialism and the division of labor it fostered, to the creation of artificial nation-states and to internal disorder sometimes generated from the outside.

A great deal of work has been done on the ecology of the Sahel and on technical problems of development economics in the region. While these are immensely important topics that require further study, the attention given them has tended to obscure some of the political-economic, historical and moral problems—problems of dependent-underdevelopment, neocolonialism and alternative models of development—which must be understood and effectively addressed if disasters such as the famine are to be averted when drought conditions recur.

The inability of the Sahelian states (Mali, Niger, Chad, Upper Volta, Mauritania and Senegal) to prevent famine during the recent drought cannot be understood apart from their historic experience of colonialism. While colonialism came to Africa later than to other parts of the world, its guiding principle, that colonies exist for the economic benefit of the colonizer, remained intact.

This principle, an extension of mercantilist economic doctrine, is evident in the Sahelian nations since colonization. The economies of the region, when they have developed at all, have done so with a greater emphasis on their roles as inputs to and markets for *métropolitain* French economy than as Sahelian economies designed to meet the economic needs of the people of the region.

Thus vertical economic linkages have been created—that is, links to the economy of the colonizing nation—rather than horizontal economic linkages which are those between the various sectors of the local economies. From this sort of development emerges the "mono-economy," the economy which produces little more than primary commodities: unprocessed mineral resources and agricultural goods which are exported for processing and consumption.

Statistics released by the Special Sahelian Office of the United Nations Secretariat support this characterization. The five Sahelian states other than Mauritania, whose iron ore accounts for 89.3 per cent of its annual exports, export mostly unprocessed agricultural commodities such as cotton, groundnuts, oilseeds, fish and live animals, which account for 83 per cent of their annual exports.

This type of development condemns these nations to a vicious circle of dependent-underdevelopment. As these countries are not economically self-sufficient, both because of their generally meager economic resources and the patterns of development mentioned above, they must trade with other nations for both consumer goods and the capital goods they require for economic development. The problem is that, because these economies produce mostly primary commodities which embody very little labor time relative to that embodied in processed consumer goods, little mobilizable capital is generated when these commodities are sold on the international market. Simply stated, these countries receive a low price for their exports relative to the prices they must pay for imports. Thus these countries lose out on both ends of exchange, a situation that supports the contention that dependent-underdevelopment is chronic and structural.

One characteristic of this dependent-underdevelopment has been the unevenness of such development as has taken place, a factor which has intensified the problems of the region. Development has been uneven geographically and also in the emergence of new class structures featuring urban elites.

When the French colonizers came to the Sahel at the end of the 19th century they did not penetrate very far to the east from the Atlantic Ocean. Coastal areas were the centers of economic activity, and that in part explains why Senegal and Mauritania, which are on the coast, have received the most investment capital of the six Sahelian nations and have per capita gross national products from two to four times those of the four landlocked nations (Chad, Niger, Mali and Upper Volta), which are officially designated by the U.N. as among the poorest countries in the world.

Throughout the colonial era and to this day, the coastal areas and the cities, such as Dakar which thrived there, have received more attention than inland rural areas. A tension has been created between city and countryside, between worker and peasant, between new forms of authority and traditional ones. The governments, which are at least nominally responsible for economic planning and resource allocation, are invariably governments of and from the cities. Accordingly, they focus their attention on urban problems and in the process increase the tension between city and countryside.

With the growth of the cities and the political-economic dynamics of colonization has emerged a new class of urban elites, a bourgeoisie both comprador and national, discussed by Kwame Nkrumah in his later writings. This class runs ministries, the military and the other national institutions and acts as the local agents of international business interests.

The elites live extravagantly—and conspicuously so, given the background of abject poverty in the society as a whole. Their life style and institutions absorb much of any economic surplus created by the labor of the peasantry. They also hinder economic development in other ways. It is clearly not in their interest, as they perceive it, to act politically in ways that will stimulate economic development. Development and underdevelopment are parts of the same historical process, a process which has brought an affluence to the urban elites which they will not jeopardize.

Economics has the potential, often realized, to mystify as well as enlighten. At its base, however, is a certain inescapable logic which states that human beings, if they are to engage in any activity, must have sustenance. If they do not produce their own food, someone must do it for them. If the industrial worker or the nomad is to

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continue with his life style, the peasant must produce the food he will eat. Joan Robinson and John Eatwell have written in *An Introduction to Modern Economics*:

> A basic characteristic of a developed economy is that technology, equipment and political power enable it to get food and other primary products with a small proportion of its manpower, so that a large proportion is available for industry and other activities. Underdevelopment means that most of the population has to be engaged in producing food; the rest live on the surplus of the cultivator's product over what his family must eat, so that the whole development of society depends on the level of output per head in agriculture.

By this definition the Sahel is severely underdeveloped. Statistics released by the U.N. show that 87 per cent of the population of these countries is engaged in agricultural production. Considering this high proportion, the productivity of this sector is extremely low, averaging 43 per cent of the gross domestic product of the six countries in 1969.

This low agricultural productivity is very much a legacy of colonialism. While the French found it in their interest to promote development in the mining sector of the Mauritanian economy and in the manufacturing sector of the Senegalese economy, they did not find it profitable to develop the agricultural sectors of either of these economies or those of the other Sahelian states.

Thus, the agricultural technologies employed in the Sahel are often centuries old. They are almost entirely labor-intensive and often, as in the case of slash and burn cultivation, harmful to the land. Irrigation systems are rare, so that drought conditions pose a desperate threat. The result is that agricultural yields are very low with respect both to labor time and to the land area under cultivation.

The problems of agriculture are aggravated by the attention given to the cultivation of nonsubsistence crops —"cash crops," as they are called. These, primarily cotton and groundnuts, occupy nearly 20 per cent of the areas under cultivation and are grown for export rather than domestic consumption. Again, with the exception of Mauritania, these cash crops amount to nearly half of the annual exports of the Sahel.

While such crops were grown in the Sahel well before the arrival of the French colonizers, it was the French who stimulated their widespread cultivation by imposing taxes on the population which had to be paid in francs. The only way that a peasant could obtain francs was to cultivate crops to be sold at markets where the franc was the currency of exchange—i.e., markets that handled the "cash crops." Therefore the energies and resources of the agricultural population were diverted from their central responsibility to produce enough food for the society to subsist.

The problem becomes circular when an attempt is made to increase the productivity of agricultural labor so that enough food can be grown to allow for the development of nonagricultural sectors. According to traditional development economics, the way to do this is to industrialize agriculture and thus increase labor productivity. But that requires an industrial sector to produce the machines, a sector which does not exist in the Sahelian economies because it presupposes a capital investment well beyond the generative capacity of economies producing mostly primary commodities that bring low returns on the international market. And much of the surplus that is created and could be used for economic development is absorbed by the elite classes.

The problems of structural dependence and underdevelopment are difficult but not unmanageable. While foreign aid from industrialized nations might theoretically provide the capital necessary for traditional development, that is an unlikely source since the interests of industrialized nations and those of the Sahelian nations seldom coincide. The belief that aid on a national scale is extended from humanitarian motives is no longer tenable, if indeed it ever was.

A recently declassified report prepared by officials of the U.S. State Department and the Agency for International Development presents as its first recommendation that: "The United States should continue to concentrate its major economic assistance in those key African countries where the United States has major economic development or political and security interests." None of the Sahelian nations is among these key countries. When aid is given it usually appears in forms at least as beneficial to the donor nation as to the recipient. The same calculation can be seen in the tendency of international financial institutions to make loans geared more to increasing consumption than capital investment. A final problem with aid relates to its distribution—it is often appropriated by the elites well before it reaches the areas for which it was intended.

Therefore, since aid cannot be relied upon to meet the need, other means must be found. Most industrialized nations visualize dependent-underdeveloped nations as necessarily being at their mercy, but that is more an expression of ego than of the natural order of things. There is no doubt but that the Sahelian states feel profoundly the actions of the industrialized nations, but if they should decide to stake their future on the actions of the industrialized world they had better resign themselves to permanent dependence and underdevelopment.

The arrogance of the leadership of the industrialized countries, profusely exhibited at the World Food Conference in Rome, demonstrates their fantasy that they are the only nations with a decision to make—the decision, specifically, as to which nations shall starve and which shall be spared.

That is not the case. The Sahelian nations and other dependent-underdeveloped countries around the world have a number of difficult decisions to face, independent of but not isolated from the actions of the industrialized nations. If the people of the Sahel decide that they want to break out of the self-perpetuating morass of dependent-underdevelopment, being dissatisfied with the role of passive victim, they must make a number of choices which will shape their future.

They must consider whether a planned or market economy best serves their needs at this stage of their economic development. While the ideological and moral aspects of this question are of utmost importance, the

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simple economics of the matter must be given consideration. Figures distributed at the World Food Conference show that in both industrialized and dependent-underdeveloped nations planned economies have had higher growth rates in food production than have market economies.

The relationship of their decisions to the class structures of these societies is also significant. The future of the Sahel cannot be shaped solely by the urban elite classes which now govern. The choices must be made by the people of the region as a whole. This is not to say that the government cannot represent the needs and wishes of the people; rather, it is to suggest that it must.

The people of the Sahel must consider carefully how they are to apply the economic surplus created by their labors. They must face the imperative that, if there is to be economic development, the surplus cannot continue to be confiscated by the elite classes. Once that is determined, decisions can be made as to what sort of economic development model they wish to follow.

While they've been told that the Western industrial model, with its centralization, urbanization and capital-intensive technologies, is the only one for a modern nation to follow, the people of the Sahel may well deem it totally inappropriate to their needs. They may find that cultivating nonsubsistence cash crops is not the best disposition of agricultural land or labor; that they would be better advised to grow grains such as sorghum and millet which could be converted to domestic consumption as well as exported.

One last consideration relates to the concept held by these Sahelian countries of the sovereignty of the nation-state and its relations with other nation-states. The present division of states in the Sahel is arbitrary, the boundaries having been drawn for the convenience of colonial administration. Many of the Sahelian states have very little economic potential, given their meager mineral resources, hostile climates and geography (four of the six are landlocked). This leaves a nation such as Upper Volta in rather desperate circumstances, regardless of the decisions it makes concerning its future.

It seems fair to say that many of these nations cannot achieve development along the lines of any model without a closer cooperation with other dependent-underdeveloped nations in the region and around the world. If the industrialized nations cannot or will not help them, they must help one another to break the ensnarement of chronic dependence and underdevelopment and improve their lives collectively.

These points having been made, it must be said that decisions regarding the development and future of the Sahel must be made by the people of the region themselves, for they must live with their decisions or perhaps die in attempting to create a society they envision as their own. No solution can be imposed by international organizations or intellectuals from the industrialized nations, however well-intentioned they might be.

That does not relieve the industrialized countries of a moral responsibility to help the people of the Sahel; on the contrary, the industrialized nations should do all that they can. But it does emphasize that the Sahelian nations should not count on the help of the industrialized nations as their only hope, for if they do they are likely to be disappointed.

For the people of the industrialized nations the first step toward helping the people of the Sahel is to understand their plight—that their misery is not merely the result of nature gone mad but of past and present history as well. Actions will follow from that understanding. □

MEMOS TO THE CHAIRMEN

The Issue, of Course, Is Power

FRANK J. DONNER

The following observations are set down for possible consideration by the select committees of the Senate and the House, appointed to study the intelligence activities of various agencies and branches of the government. They are also respectfully called to the attention of Vice President Rockefeller, assigned by President Ford to head an Executive panel investigating intelligence activities by U.S. agencies.

(*1*) The key question of course is one of power. The statute creating the CIA in 1947 is extraordinarily vague. It seems fair to say that never has a single government agency been granted so much power with so few meaningful standards and restraints. The most notable example of its vagueness is perhaps the failure to define the term "intelligence activities." It would appear from the legislative history that Congress thought this referred exclusively to passive data collection, worlds away from the aggressive covert practices which subsequently became the CIA's trademark. The agency is barred, as everybody now knows, from "internal security functions." Congress intended to proscribe secret political police practices on our shores, but surely there are more precise ways of conveying this purpose. The very section which seems to bar internal security functions authorizes the director to protect "intelligence sources and methods from unauthorized disclosure." Was this proviso intended

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to offer an escape hatch from the prohibition to which it is attached?

(2) That the CIA flouted the Congressional intent is hardly open to question. "Flouted" is precisely the word. For example, after the widespread furore in the early months of 1967, in the wake of the disclosure of the CIA's Covert Action Division program of hidden subsidies to some thirty-nine American organizations over a period of seventeen years—after the admissions of impropriety and the hand wringing—the Johnson administration *in the summer of that same year* used the CIA for domestic operations against the anti-war movement. Dean Rusk, whose memory has now become conveniently vague on the subject, regularly attacked the movement as foreign-influenced, presumably on the basis of CIA data collected by a new unit formed within its counterintelligence department "to look into the possibility of foreign links to American dissident elements." In 1970-71 the Nixon administration commissioned the CIA to turn up evidence of foreign influence not only on the anti-war movement but on the entire New Left and black militancy. It would not take much digging to discover that since 1967 the CIA has pursued a virtually uninterrupted course of domestic intelligence operations. This pattern is not uniform; when the FBI broke with the CIA in 1970, the operational activities of the CIA intensified in this country. A particularly rich source of local operations were the "contract" employees, especially the pro-Castro Cubans in Florida and Los Angeles. Also, there is evidence of a chain of "proprietary fronts," businesses set up by the CIA for intelligence purposes.

(3) As the statute now stands, the director of the CIA has almost unrestrained and unreviewed power to determine the nature and scope of its operations. Indeed, this vagueness in the delegation of power was deliberate: it was central to Allen Dulles' format for the new agency. The CIA's legislative warrant creates the very "government of men" which the founders of the Republic feared. The CIA's abuses of power over the years attest to the wisdom of a "government of laws" and the dangers of entrusting decision making to the values and policies of powerful individuals, themselves captives of the mystique of intelligence.

However clumsily Congress may have originally expressed itself, it is incontestable that it did not intend to create in the CIA the autonomous power system it seems to have become. The emergence and growth of an independent organ of state administration to monitor the opinions and political activities of a country's nationals are among the hallmarks of a police state. The CIA was created to assemble and evaluate data as an aid in the formulation of policy and the making of decisions by agencies of government (the National Security Council, the State Department and the White House) charged with substantive responsibilities.

(4) There is an observable pathology in the process by which intelligence agencies enlarge their powers. For more than three decades Director J. Edgar Hoover maintained that the FBI had been entrusted by a Presidential directive of September 1939 with an open-ended intelligence mission unrelated to law enforcement. When Director Kelley took over in 1973, this claimed Magna Carta for domestic political intelligence was all but abandoned. Similarly, the bureau's political filing practices were justified by an invented intelligence mandate, until the Congress, by a recent statute, required a law-enforcement justification. In the same way, despite the austere language of the Constitution limiting the Army's role in civilian affairs, military intelligence developed a vast civilian surveillance capability, wholly unrelated to its narrow mission of responding to a call-out when, in the judgment of the President, such action was warranted.

(5) The reasons for expansion of domestic intelligence beyond its intended limits are evident. To begin with, intelligence operations typically become the responsibility of zealots, men who are committed to the long twilight struggle. Further, the intelligence process itself is inherently subject to abuse: one investigates in order to discover whether there is a need to investigate. Every activity of the target, however legitimate and indeed constitutionally protected, is treated with suspicion and monitored: who knows, it may be a vital piece in a sinister not-yet-revealed subversive design. Since, in the intelligence mind, the stakes are so large—our very survival as a nation—overkill is almost deliberate. Ultimately, the intelligence institution exploits reasons of state to achieve autonomy and, by a parallel process, its operations become ends in themselves. The goal of collecting information is transformed into one of doing injury to the target.

(6) The great *idée fixe* of the intelligence mind is that domestic protest and dissent ("agitation") are the fruits of foreign plotting and direction. Intelligence functionaries and agents in other countries are amused by the readiness of their American counterparts to justify their domestic practices as defensive, "counterintelligence." All sorts of domestic intelligence programs in this country, whatever the motivation or authority, are automatically labeled "counterintelligence." This not only avoids the stigma of affirmatively initiating a program of spying on one's own nationals but evades problems of authorization and constitutionality. For example, in the 1972 *Keith* case the Supreme Court ruled that domestic wiretapping for intelligence purposes (as opposed to law enforcement) was subject to the warrant requirements of the Fourth Amendment. The Department of Justice, overnight, ascribed to its electronic eavesdropping a "foreign intelligence" justification which had been excluded from the scope of the Court's decision. One can see this form of rationalization at work in the report by the Saxbe committee on the FBI's counterintelligence programs (COINTELPROs). The document, released in November 1974, justifies the most aggressive instances of counterintelligence, a program conducted for some fifteen years against nominal Communists, on the ground that it "was conceived as a 'counterintelligence' effort in the purest sense." The targets, the report argued, were embryonic foreign spies and saboteurs. The other six COINTELPROs were presumably also defensive initiatives against foreign plotters—but in some less pure sense. Attorney

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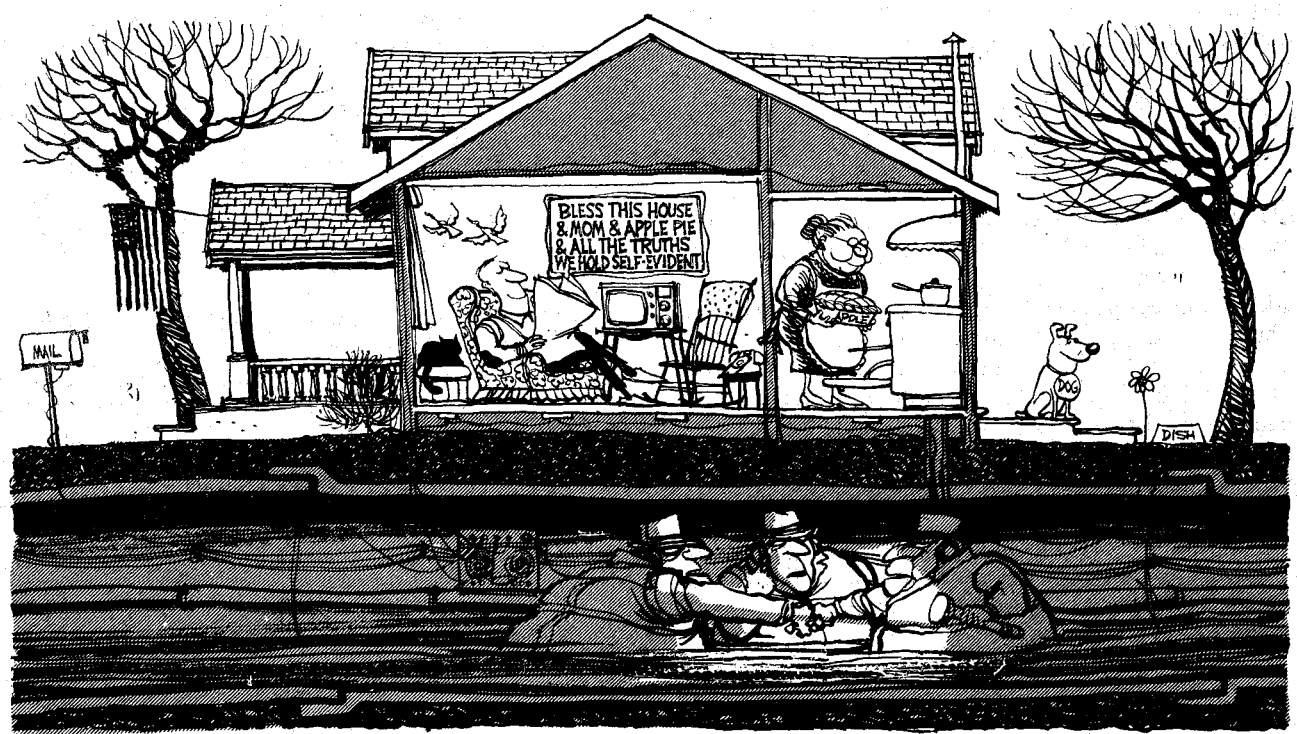
General Petersen thought so highly of this formulation that, when he retired at the beginning of this year, he used the report's conclusions as a warning against overreacting to the CIA's domestic efforts. In the same way the Army's enormous computerized domestic intelligence filing operation at Fort Holabird, with its 100,000 subjects was called the "Counterintelligence Analysis Branch," the allegation being that it was merely monitoring the activities of foreign intelligence agents.

A super-secret FBI counterintelligence program was designated "Special Operations." The full details of this program were withheld when facts about the other counterintelligence programs were made public, on the ground that it dealt with the intelligence activities of a hostile foreign power. But the three documents which were released bearing the file caption of this program deal with the Black Panthers—hardly, whatever one may say about them, the intelligence agents of a foreign power. Similarly, campus informers and ghetto plants of the bureau were in the late 1960s and early 1970s regularly instructed to look for evidence of foreign collaboration in the activities of their targets.

(7) The 1947 CIA statute simply permits other intelligence agencies to continue domestic data collection. This provision is as tricky as the "intelligence sources and methods" provision already discussed. Did this backhandedly authorize the FBI to engage in practices which are not spelled out in any other more direct mandate to the bureau? It is becoming fairly clear, although Director Kelley is not giving up without a struggle, that the FBI has no ongoing intelligence responsibilities unrelated to law enforcement, at least in the area of domestic intelligence. But the bureau still insists that it is charged with a foreign intelligence responsibility with respect to such matters as the actions of foreign agents and other domestic "subversive activities" with a foreign dimension. In this area, too, we may need corrective or clarifying legislation.

(8) The domestic investigation of political activities by the bureau has been justified either on law-enforcement or intelligence grounds. The Nixon administration developed the thesis that political investigations for intelligence purposes could be more intrusive and hostile to constitutional rights than could an investigation for purposes of law enforcement. This position emerged from the cold war, but Attorney General Mitchell elevated it to the level of a principle. Under this formulation a bomb-laden terrorist under criminal investigation could not be made the subject of a wiretap without the protection of the warrant procedures of Title III of the 1968 law. But an individual merely suspected of "subversive activities" could be electronically monitored with no concern for his rights. There is one case described in an affidavit submitted by Attorney General Saxbe in a lawsuit (March 18, 1974) of a wiretap which was commenced on October 24, 1942, and not discontinued until February 10, 1967. This marathon surveillance was targeted against "an organization whose activities were controlled" by another organization composed of citizens of the United States but, according to the affidavit, dominated by an organization acting on behalf of a foreign power. Bear in mind that for twenty-five years all of this target's outgoing and incoming calls to and from whatever party were recorded, logged and filed. What intelligence purpose was served by such a massive invasion of both privacy and free expression?

(9) There is an understandable fear that members



Oliphant, The Denver Post

"Hi, Ferguson, FBI" . . . "Oh, Hi, Kelley, CIA . . . Meet Wilson, Phone Company" . . . "Hi."

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of Congress have been made special targets of surveillance and filing practices. But the answer to this well-documented abuse is certainly not to immunize legislators, *ex officio*, as it were, from FBI investigation. The nation was shocked when evidence emerged that Acting Director L. Patrick Gray III protected the Nixon administration from the bureau's Watergate investigation. It will not do to shelter members of Congress from legitimate bureau investigations. What is imperatively needed is a precise formulation of the bureau's investigative jurisdiction, of its authority for *all* data collection. A recent case in point demonstrates the necessity. After the director retreated from the claim that his bureau had an ongoing intelligence jurisdiction unrelated to law enforcement, he continued his former practices but simply changed the justification. Although the Young Socialist Alliance had programmatically rejected violence and, indeed, expelled advocates of violence, the bureau justified infiltrating its convention in December 1974, on the ground that the YSA might conceivably, at some future time, engage in criminal violence and that the bureau's law-enforcement responsibilities required such infiltration as a preventive measure. Not only were rights of the convention attendants violated but the courts were deceived by this strained interpretation.

(*10*) It will be quite difficult, if not impossible, to impose meaningful positive standards on the operations of an intelligence agency. A far more realistic course would be to state in unequivocal language what an agency may not do. Senator Ervin introduced such a measure, barring the military from the civilian surveillance area, but it died in the past session of Congress.

(*11*) A precisely worded quarantine of forbidden areas and practices is imperative for another reason. Every intelligence agency rapidly substitutes for its mandate a "mission." The mission, a key intelligence concept, is a grandiose, ideologized reinterpretation by the agency of its responsibilities; it leads both to abuse of power and to competition with other agencies.

(*12*) The CIA is a member of an intelligence community in the fields of both foreign and domestic intelligence. Especially over the past decade, surveillance operations, the development and storage of files and dossiers, have become a collaborative endeavor by a constellation of federal, state and urban agencies. An agency that is barred by its mandate or lack of funds from a particular area of domestic intelligence enters into a liaison relationship with other units with a similar or overlapping mission for the purpose of exchanging data, operational information and files. Liaison relationships are not casual or optional aspects of intelligence but functional. (This happens all over the world; the British describe it by the verb "to liaise.") Thus, when intelligence agencies are not cutting each other's throats in the competition for funding and power, they are borrowing each other's capability to accomplish indirectly what they are barred from doing directly.

(*13*) The Congressional mandate authorizes the select committees to explore the need for "improved, strengthened or consolidated oversight" of domestic intelligence activities. This problem should have top priority. Neither the existing oversight panels nor the President's commission can effectively probe the abuses of the CIA and its sister agencies in the domestic field. The precedent for Executive oversight is President Johnson's three-man committee headed by Under Secretary of State Nicholas DeB. Katzenbach, which took less than six weeks to return its emollient conclusions. The pattern of legislative response when the CIA comes under attack has been marked by a curious protectiveness. The committee chairman summons the elders of the agency and accepts their justification for its conduct. There is no real will to get at the facts. One is reminded of the tear-stained boy who pleaded with Shoeless Joe Jackson at the time of the Black Sox scandals to "Say it ain't so, Joe." But it is time for Congress to come to terms with fundamentals: given a residual ambiguity even in a well-drafted statute, the power of the director, the secrecy of the operation and the ease with which oversight committees are co-opted, abuses are inevitable and, indeed, will increase. The intelligence functionaries know that in a democracy storms of criticism periodically strike their sanctuaries. The trick is to hibernate, to confess error, but to survive until the climate changes.

(*14*) The Watergate and military intelligence investigations, both directed by Senator Ervin, show that Congress can do an effective job of getting at the roots of sensitive and factually complicated problems. But fruitful investigation requires careful preparation and a competent staff. An intelligence agency operating in a politically sensitive area makes certain of its cover in advance, a claim to authorization if the operation is blown—in Malcolm Muggeridge's words, "like those iron staircases in case of fire that one sees outside brownstone houses in New York." While it may not have taken much to activate the CIA's domestic surveillance, the agency almost certainly received a signal from some higher authority—not in writing, of course, but in some form. In fact, the evidence is clear that every administration since that of Eisenhower has either authorized or ratified CIA domestic intelligence operations.

(*15*) The investigation of domestic intelligence practices is child's play compared to a probe of the CIA's covert actions abroad, and there is a particular reason why the two areas should be studied in separate stages of any investigation. The committees should strive to make public as much information as is possible without compromising matters which have a colorable claim to

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secrecy. It would be unfortunate if foreign-related considerations were used to screen from public view information about domestic activities which have no valid claim to secrecy. Yet, if the past is a guide, the danger of such a cover-up is great.

(*16*) Finally, there is no point even starting without planning to call the insiders, the kinds of people who have contributed to the success of every important Congressional investigation. The committees need to hear testimony from agency staffers, whether now employed or retired. But they must evaluate the testimony, from whatever source, in the light of today's world. A vast intelligence bureaucracy, rooted in the needs and assumptions of the 1940s, is threatened by heaving historic changes—not only in the world political situation but in the very techniques of data collection. The persons involved will go to great lengths to conform reality to their ideological biases and occupational needs. What legitimate governmental purpose should intelligence, both domestic and foreign, serve? A sound answer to that question will give needed perspective to the problems of authority, coordination, operations and data evaluation.

In a post-Watergate America theories of inherent Executive power can no longer serve to justify secret intelligence baronies either at home or abroad. But does Congress have the will and resources to forge a legitimate alternative? □

Some Questions to be Answered

JO POMERANCE

With remarkable dispatch and virtual unanimity, the new Congress has determined to investigate the operations of the FBI and the CIA (along with related operations that make up the so-called intelligence establishment). By a vote of 82 to 4, the Senate has established an eleven-member panel and named Sen. Frank Church as chairman. As Senate committees go, this one is good: from the Democratic side, Mondale, Huddleston, Morgan, Philip Hart and Gary Hart and Church; from the Republican, Schweiker, Baker, Mathias, Tower and Goldwater. In the House, Democratic policy makers have recommended a ten-member committee of the same type. Rep. Phillip Burton is quoted as saying that sentiment favoring creation of such a committee was nearly unanimous. Then, of course, a commission named by President Ford and chaired by Vice President Rockefeller is now conducting an inquiry; it is made up for the most part of individuals with strong ties to the intelligence establishment. But as William Greider points out in *The Washington Post*, "the circus now has three rings—select committees on intelligence in both the House and Senate, plus the Presidential CIA commission." In itself, this would seem to insure a thorough investigation. Vice President Rockefeller is said to have complained bitterly about the election of Frank Church as chairman of the Senate committee and to feel that there is little prospect for cooperation between the commission he heads and the Senate committee. But what is needed is not so much cooperation as a close check by the Senate committee on the findings and report of the commission.

More important, as Tom Wicker notes in *The New York Times*, "There will never be a better time or a more sympathetic public attitude for finding out the truth, fixing responsibility for abuses, and fashioning safeguards to protect American citizens against their own government." The Watergate investigations, hearings and trials have created the ideal setting for such inquiries. In addition, the mandate of the committees—to investigate the operations of the FBI and the CIA—justifies a broad range of inquiry. And the tensions between the committees and the commission could produce some testimony that might otherwise be difficult to unearth. For example, Richard Helms has let it be known that, if he is made the scapegoat, he will have a lot to say. So a fine opportunity exists, beyond curbing and disciplining the intelligence establishment, to clarify some issues that have been the subject of continuous controversy and concern since the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. This opportunity must not be lost. It is perhaps too much to expect that these issues can ever be resolved to the complete satisfaction of the entire public, but the fact that a large majority continues to be deeply troubled by them demonstrates the need for clarification. What, then, are these issues?

The first of them can be defined in this way: was Lee Harvey Oswald at any time an informer, paid or unpaid, for the FBI? If not an informer, was he a contact? Did he have any connection with the agency or any of its agents? Thanks to the persistence of Harold Weisberg, the National Archives and Records Service of the General Services Administration has now released the heretofore classified transcript of a special executive session of the Warren Commission held on January 27, 1964 (see *Whitewash IV: Top Secret, JFK Assassination Transcript* by Harold Weisberg, 1974). The special executive session had been hurriedly called by the chairman to discuss an article which had just then appeared in *The Nation*—"Oswald and the FBI" by Harold Feldman (January 27, 1964). The modest premise of the article was that the Warren Commission, in addition to telling the public how President Kennedy was killed, who killed him and why, should tell us if the FBI or any other government intelligence agency was in any way connected "with the alleged assassin, Lee Harvey Oswald." The article then went on to cite evidence and reports indicating that

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Oswald might have been an informer for the FBI. In retrospect, it is remarkable that such a simple proposition should have agitated the commission to the extent that it did. The entire transcript of this session is devoted to a discussion of how to treat with—what to do about—this report. The discussion is most revealing; it shows, for example, the awesome respect for J. Edgar Hoover that prevailed at that time.

No point would be served here in detailing the discussion that took place at this executive session of the commission. The transcript is now available—ten years later. Reasonable men and women will interpret the discussion and subsequent proceedings differently, but on two points there should be agreement. One is that the commission, within the inherent limitations it faced, did in fact investigate the report. Affidavits were obtained from Hoover and nine FBI officials to the effect that Oswald was never an informer for the agency. The commission also heard from Dallas law-enforcement officials of reports they had received that Oswald might have been an informer. On the basis of the limited investigation that it was able to conduct, the Warren Commission and staff were satisfied that Oswald had not been an informer or agent of the FBI. But the record does not entirely dispose of the report; there are some loopholes. In fairness it should be noted that the Warren Commission was not set up to investigate the FBI; it had a specific and limited mandate. Moreover, it had to rely, for the most part, on FBI personnel for field investigations; it did not have a full investigative staff of its own.

Although members of the commission reflected an awareness that, regardless of the facts, blanket *pro forma* denials might be expected from the FBI (Allen Dulles even suggested that for this reason it might be impossible to determine the issue), Hoover and the other FBI officials who had furnished affidavits were not called before the commission, placed under oath and closely questioned. In addition there were contradictions and inconsistencies that should have been but never were clarified. And there were some quirky details; a page from Oswald's telephone address book, referring to an FBI agent named Hosty, was withheld until a specific request was made to produce it. But the real difficulty arises from the fact that the Warren Commission was not in a position to pursue the kind of inquiry that Congressional committees can conduct, nor did it have the benefit of the long series of recent disclosures about how the FBI and the CIA operate in certain areas, nor did it have the grounds which exist today for questioning the credibility of blanket denials of the kind it received. One does not need to share the point of view of those who have been critical of the Warren Commission to realize that the record it made on this issue does need clarification. Not to attempt that clarification now, when the circumstances are most favorable to a full airing, would be a mistake.

To the same effect, the committees should find out what if any ties, as informers, contract employees, "contacts" or otherwise, some of the key individuals who figured in reports of the assassination tragedy had with the CIA. Reports of such connections have been widely publicized over the last ten years. The cast is well known. Merely to illustrate: Victor Marchetti has been quoted as saying that at regular 9 A.M. staff meetings of CIA senior officials and executive assistants, which were attended by Richard Helms as director, the case of Clay Shaw, who had figured in James Garrison's investigation, was discussed on several occasions in the context of "Are we giving him all the help he needs?" From these discussions Marchetti got the impression that Shaw had been at one time, quite some years earlier, an agency contact when he was in the export-import business. This report should be thoroughly tested by putting Helms and others under oath and learning just what contacts if any Shaw had with the agency and when.

Again, merely by way of illustration, the committees should, in open public hearings, find out the truth about the "small secret army" of Cuban anti-Castro refugees that the CIA funded to the tune of $2 million a year. In the period from 1960 to 1970 this group, known as "Operation 40"—it grew out of the Bay of Pigs fiasco—engaged in a series of activities that should be aired, if only as a sample of the dangerous operations unsupervised intelligence agencies have initiated, sponsored and funded (see story by George Volsky, *The New York Times*, January 4, 1975). Also, inquiry should be made as to what contacts *any* of the key figures in the assassination tragedy, including Oswald, Shaw and others, ever had, at *any* time, with elements of the "small secret army" and/or the CIA. Again merely by way of illustration: it has been reported that Lieut. Manuel Pena resigned from the Los Angeles police in 1967 to accept a position with the Agency for International Development, said to be used by the CIA as an agency to train foreign police officers. Pena, according to these reports, actually took training at the CIA headquarters at McLean, Va. One month before the assassination of Robert F. Kennedy, Pena was back with the Los Angeles police, and was assigned by Assistant Police Chief Robert Houghton to direct a team known as "Special Unit Senator," which was set up to investigate the death of Senator Kennedy. In his book of that title, Houghton points out that Pena was thought qualified for the assignment because he had had "connections with various intelligence agencies in several countries." Just what were Pena's contacts with the CIA? And to what extent did that agency cooperate with local police, and vice versa? Over what period of time? In what kinds of investigation?

Other illustrations of the same sort might be cited, but enough is generally known—many aspects of the events in question have been widely publicized in the press—to warrant the conclusion that the Congressional committees, as part of the inquiry into the operations of the FBI and the CIA, should investigate: first, what if any ties any of those who have been identified in this voluminous documentation had with the two agencies under investigation. And, second, what kinds of role these agencies played in the subsequent investigations of the two assassinations. In particular, did they promptly disclose all that they knew; with what degree of diligence did they scrutinize any of their activities that might have a bearing on the investigations? In general, what role did they play in these subsequent investigations? □

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CHAVEZ AND THE NLRA

SOMETHING IS IN THE WIND

RONALD B. TAYLOR

Is Cesar Chavez's time of leadership running out? Has *La Causa* become a "forlorn echo of the 1960s with the fading memories of inspired social movements, sharply expressed ideals and strategies of provocation," as was reported in *The New York Times Magazine*?

These are two of the doomsday questions being asked by legislators who want to pass some kind of farm labor law this year and by an increasing number of people who once wholeheartedly supported the United Farm Workers of America because the fledgling union was being led by the charismatic Chavez.

A sign of their flagging faith and growing doubt is mirrored in a third question: why does Chavez oppose union recognition elections? The question itself presupposes (*1*) that Chavez *does* oppose elections; and (*2*) that he does so because the Teamsters have so overwhelmed the UFW movement that he knows it would lose elections.

These assumptions are faulty because they combine disparate issues into a single premise; they suppose that because Chavez remains intransigent in his opposition to having farm workers covered by the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA) he therefore opposes union recognition elections for those workers. Despite his heated denials and the UFW's struggle to push a union recognition law through the California legislature, the questions are raised, the assumptions made.

But criticism of Chavez does not focus on election issues alone. Where *Time* once devoted its cover story to an unquestioning look at "La Causa's magnetic champion and the country's most prominent Mexican-American leader," it now reports: "Today another side of Chavez's personality is becoming painfully apparent; his talents as a union administrator scarcely match his gift for inspirational leadership. . . . The UFW is fighting now to stay alive. . . ."

Chavez senses this shifting mood and the growing intuition that the middle 1970s are not the time for journalists to write uncritically about inspired movements and magnetic champions; public attention is on inflation and recession; shoppers are concerned more about the price of food than about the boycott of lettuce, grapes and Gallo wines.

Chavez recently wrote: "According to the doubters, the era of social activism is over. People are tired of supporting causes." But he said he did not believe it, because statements by growers and market statistics showed that the boycott was still effective. "The message is clear: the public is still willing to support our boycott. This bodes well for us, because the boycott is at once our strongest weapon and a visible sign of the philosophy which governs our union. . . ."

In Chavez's mind the key issues in the question of bringing farm labor under the NLRA are (*1*) loss of the secondary boycott (it was outlawed in 1947 by a provision of the Taft-Hartley amendment to the NLRA); and (*2*) the procedural delays built into the administrative machinery created by the Act and its subsequent amendments—delays that have stalled the will of workers in other industries for years.

These questions and arguments will come up again in the 94th Congress before the U.S. Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. Among the stacks of proposals is Sen. John Tunney's bill to delete those few words that now exclude farm labor from the NLRA. Sen. Harrison Williams, chairman of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee, hopes to hold a full set of hearings on the issue some time this spring or summer.

Tunney's bill is supported by such agribusiness giants as Ernest Gallo and by the Teamsters union. AFL-CIO president, George Meany, had made it clear in the past that he feels farm labor should be covered by the Act. His position has not changed, but top federation officials say modifiers will be added to this position to make certain that seasonal workers are not finessed out of their rights because they are never on one job long enough to participate. Thus, it appears the federation is making a move toward Chavez's position in an effort to get the UFW leaders to bend from their rigid position.

The AFL-CIO move is just one of several pressures now building on Chavez and the UFW, pressures that come from both within the federation and from those outsiders who support, but don't quite understand *La Causa*. There is a growing impatience, due in part to this lack of understanding, but also in part to the seemingly arbitrary nature of the UFW position, at a time when the farm workers' movement appears weak and near defeat.

By most American standards of success, the UFW is failing because it no longer holds contracts covering 55,000 jobs. Conversely, the Teamsters appear successful; they muscled their way into the vineyards and fields and snatched those contracts away.

No doubt some farm workers do sympathize with the Teamsters; many of the foremen, labor contractors, crew bosses and crew pushers openly argue for Teamster control. Some seasonal farm workers say they prefer the Teamsters because—as one Mexican migrant put it—the Teamsters "are like no union at all." Such seasonal migrants want to work unencumbered by union hiring halls, seniority dispatch systems and work patterns that break up the family unit, thus preventing the use of child labor.

But it is dangerous to postulate or generalize. Local workers, many of them putting down roots in California's

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farming valleys, have time and again demonstrated their belief in the UFW and its hiring halls and seniority dispatch systems. By union recognition elections, by strikes by court cases upheld by the California State Supreme Court, farm workers have shown that their choice is the UFW and that the Teamsters are agribusiness' answer to an economic problem: control over the work force.

The growers cannot, or at least will not, live with the UFW hiring hall, whether it is run efficiently or not. The table-grape growers made that obvious in early 1973 when they met with Teamster officials before the UFW contracts ran out and exacted a promise that, under Teamster control, there would be no hiring hall. Growers, under Teamster contract, are now free to use the nefarious labor contractor-crew boss system that exploits the farm work force by keeping it disorganized and powerless.

In the violent summer of 1973, when Teamster thugs were terrorizing UFW picket lines and lawmen were enforcing pro-grower court injunctions against picketing, Chavez ordered a massive act of civil disobedience. The workers who belonged to the UFW and who were out on strike were to disobey the court injunctions; within a few short weeks two UFW members were killed, several were hospitalized and 3,500 men, women and children were jailed for defiantly parading their red *huelga* banners. Few union leaders in the United States could duplicate such a demonstration of loyalty to a cause.

But it is important to realize that, dramatic as Chavez and *La Causa* have been, their direct influence on the lives of the 500,000 to 600,000 professional farm workers in this nation has been very small. Chavez's guerrilla tactics in the vineyards, orchards and fields have driven wages from $1.20 an hour to a minimum of $2.50 and an average now approaching $4 or $5 an hour in California, Arizona and a small part of the Florida citrus harvest. A few farm workers in these direct zones of influence earn $6,000 or $7,000 a year and receive fringe benefits that are impressive, when compared to the rest of agriculture.

The UFW, at the height of its contractual power, had 55,000 workers' names filed within the health and welfare system; its active dues-paying membership probably fluctuated from 20,000 to 30,000 and the number of UFW workers employed at any one time would have been slightly less. According to the U.S. Department of Agriculture, there are 367,000 farm workers who labor 300 days or more a year on the nation's farms; they average $1.84 an hour and earn $4,358 a year. Another 184,000 migrants live and work entirely within the United States, but manage to earn only $2,434 a year because their work is so seasonal and they must move so often. Thus it can be seen that Chavez's direct influence was limited to one-tenth or less of the total professional farm labor force.

Even that small direct influence was further watered down by another factor in the agribusiness farm labor scene: the professional farm workers make up only a small percentage of the total number of people hired to work the harvests. The USDA lists 2.8 million "hired" farm workers 14 years and older; more than 2 million

El Macriado

"Viva Los Teamsters."

of these "workers" are housewives, schoolchildren on vacation, unemployed urban workers "day-hauling" out of cities like Philadelphia to pick up a few extra dollars, winos off skid row working for a flop and a bottle, and hundreds of thousands of illegal aliens.

This casual labor force has become the farmers' insurance against organized labor. By keeping the farm workers from organizing and bargaining collectively, agribusiness has managed to hold labor costs far below the industrial averages ($10,000 to $11,000 a year). Agribusiness is saving $3 billion a year by keeping farm labor unorganized and powerless. Hiking wages in a small area—now under contract to the Teamsters—is a small price to pay for returning to the old labor contractor-crew boss system that maintains the *status quo*.

That is the agribusiness labor relations scene as the Senate labor subcommittee makes plans for extended hearings. The starting point for those hearings will be Senator Tunney's bill, but the issues are not likely to remain as simple as his proposal. Both Chavez and the American Farm Bureau Federation (AFBF) contend that agribusiness labor relations are unique and need special consideration. Naturally, the bureau and the union are diametrically opposed as to the kinds of considerations and protections that should be built into any compromise bill, but each side bases its arguments on time factors: fruit ripens and must be harvested quickly or it will spoil, and seasonal harvest crews are never long enough in any one job to invoke the provisions or the protections of the existing law. Both the AFBF and the UFW find the NLRA too slow and too cumbersome to meet their individual needs.

Chavez may not understand the intricate workings of

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the National Labor Relations Board as well as do some of the labor lawyers and leaders who criticize his unbending opposition to the NLRA, but his views are not whimsical; they are based on his own study of the fight by the Textile Workers Union to organize the mills of the South.

Chavez says, "They still have hell, after twenty years," pointing to the NLRB elections at Cannon Mills. The Cannon workers, after years of struggle to get an election set, voted 6,801 for representation by the TWU and 8,470 against. As Chavez pointed out, a TWU official saw that loss as a victory because "simply to get an election represents progress." Chavez does not see that as progress. He asks if the TWU, with workers who are steadily employed in one plant, living in one town, can organize only 10 per cent of the textile workers in the South over a twenty-year period, what would happen to seasonal farm workers trying to organize against the equally conservative, anti-labor forces within agribusiness?

Farm workers have special organizing problems. Several hundred thousand aliens, legal and illegal, yearly flood north from Mexico into the farm fields; their numbers are only dimly reflected in any statistics, yet they are a significant part of the great labor reservoir that agribusiness depends on to keep the professional farm workers disorganized and powerless. For example, one 11,000-acre fruit and row-crop farm in California has a year-round work force of 200 workers and a seasonal peak harvest need for 2,000 workers. This one farm annually hires—and fires or lays off—8,000 workers. That turnover is typical, and the key issue in any election then becomes: who is eligible to vote? The 200 permanent workers? Those seasonals who work X months? Or X weeks? All 8,000? Growers want to limit the number, the union to expand it.

UFW Chief Counsel Jerome Cohen pointed out that, even if the eligibility issues were ironed out, there remains the problem of getting the NLRB to act on questions of procedure in time to be of any service to the work force. If an employer questions an election result or a union files an unfair labor practice complaint with the NLRA, it takes fifty-three days just to get the matter before the NLRB and a complaint issued.

An NLRB spokesman acknowledged that the process is slow; he said the average contested case takes 316 days from the time the union files a charge with the board until a full board decision is handed down. Then either side can appeal an adverse board decision by filing the proper notices in federal court. The appeal process can take another year or two. Or, if a company simply refuses to obey an NLRB decision, it can forestall action for years because the board has no power to enforce its own rulings; it must go through a long court procedure and depend upon the threat of federal court contempt proceedings to force recalcitrant employers to comply.

The NLRB handles 42,000 case filings a year. Most are settled within a few months, without going before the full board, but 1,500 will go the full 316-day route to an NLRB ruling. As 1974 came to an end, 13,000 cases were backlogged.

Most of organized labor agrees that the NLRB's bureaucratic slowness and its inability to enforce its own rulings give the employer great advantage. Even so, many of them side with AFL-CIO president George Meany when he says: "Our position on the NLRA is that all workers should be covered, and that includes the farm workers."

Coincidental to the farm labor question, there is a move within the AFL-CIO to launch an attack on those NLRA procedures that have weakened labor's ability to force employers to recognize their workers and bargain with them collectively. The AFL-CIO executive council is now discussing the possibility of "opening up" the NLRA, as amended by Taft-Hartley. Under the rules of the U.S. Senate, once an Act is opened for further amendment, it is subject to full-scale attack from any source, Left or Right. Thus the make-up of the Senate, and to a lesser extent, the House, is of prime importance; agreements can be reached behind the scenes to limit the scope or the subject content of the amending process in the Senate, but these are fragile arrangements at best.

It may also be that I.W. Abel and other top labor bureaucrats have actually launched a flanking attack on the Landrum-Griffin Act of 1959 that established guarantees to protect union democracy. According to one of the nation's top labor writers, there are power plays going on inside the United Steelworkers that disturb Abel and make his desire for labor law reform less than altruistic. Insurgents in the steelworkers' union have used Landrum-Griffin provisions to set aside an important district election dominated by Abel and the international's top administrators. Such successful thrusts against the established union bureaucracy may be precipitating a countermove by top American labor leaders to scuttle the Landrum-Griffin reforms.

Such issues may seem a long way from the question of covering farm labor under the NLRA. But in the trading and jockeying for position, the Farm Bureau's desire for a special agriculture labor relations board, with built-in protections against Chavez and Chavez's own intransigent position, are entangled with the steelworkers' insurgency and the textile workers' inability to move through the NLRB's bureaucratic quagmire. If the Act is "opened up" for any reason, the farm worker issue is likely to get caught up in the political whirlwinds generated by the process. The fact that the AFL-CIO executive council is currently discussing the farm labor issue and considering NLRA amendments that guarantee seasonal workers "expedited elections" with "post election procedures" spelled out indicates that the process is started.

These phrases, "expedited elections" and "post election procedures," are coded signals to Chavez, referring to the specific intentions of the UFW's own legislative package now before the California legislature as Assembly Bill-1. This proposal, which passed the Assembly last session but was defeated in the Senate, would provide farm workers with speedy elections and post election procedures that would allow employers to question the election procedure without stalling the workers beyond the term of their employment.

AB-1 is given a "good chance" of passing this session

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and Gov. Jerry Brown is expected to sign it into law. If unamended, it would require elections be held within seven days after a three-man state agriculture labor relations board had certified that enough workers had signed the union authorization cards to require such an election. The bill is opposed by agribusiness and by the Teamsters. The growers' primary concern is the proposal's total absence of language regulating or prohibiting strikes at harvest and boycott activities. The Teamsters side with the growers—to no one's surprise—and add an objection of their own; they would prefer that each farm be broken up into several craft bargaining units. The UFW, in order to protect the seasonal workers and give them a voice in union affairs, wants only one bargaining unit per farm.

The California bill is seen as Chavez's signal to all state and federal legislators; he wants election procedures, but no restrictions upon the UFW's strongest economic weapons, the primary and secondary boycotts and the strikes at harvest. The fact that the bill has a good chance to become law gives the UFW some bargaining room within the AFL-CIO.

How does the UFW view the Tunney proposal? UFW counsel Jerome Cohen said, "If Tunney is just going through the motions for agribusiness and the Teamsters, that's one thing, but if they seriously want to take away what power [boycott] we have, which is what I think coverage under the NLRA would do, if they set up procedures which are unworkable for seasonal workers, then we will have to fight."

One top labor lawyer in Washington, a man considered expert both in the administration of the existing laws and the politics of labor, says, "Chavez is living in a fairyland if he thinks he can go back to the original (1935) Wagner Act. It just can't happen."

The words were spoken with some impatience, and the attitude is echoed both within the AFL-CIO and among the staff of the Senate labor subcommittee. Some observers speculate that, once legislation begins to take shape, Chavez's rigid position will begin to soften. One staff man commented with more optimism than conviction, "He surely knows you can't stop an idea once its time has arrived."

After forty years of exile to the economic jungles of agribusiness free enterprise, has the farm workers' time arrived? Maybe, but if there is going to be any action, there must be some compromise. Is it possible the hearing process will generate the kinds of public pressure needed to bring about change?

In the past, Chavez had been keenly aware of public sentiment and has used it to great advantage in putting together economic boycotts that drove farmers to the bargaining table. He has signaled his position on elections and still clutches the boycott, in both the primary and secondary forms. But, despite his denials, there are signs that he might give up the secondary boycott if the counter offer were good enough or the pressure on the UFW strong enough. (The price of the AFL-CIO support for the primary grape and lettuce boycott was the UFW agreement to halt such secondary boycott activities as placing pickets, in front of Safeway supermakets to urge customers not to enter the stores because the chain carried the forbidden grapes and lettuce. However this did not prevent the picket line from urging customers not to buy those specific products, because such primary boycotting is legal under the NLRA.)

Some Chavez supporters are warning him in private that, should full-scale hearings develop, the UFW opposition to coverage under the NLRA would place the union in an awkward position in the public's view and this in turn would affect the union's ability to continue any form of boycott. That places the argument on a level Chavez understands very well; he is sensitive to the public view of *La Causa*.

The hearings would not generate pressures on Chavez alone. If a full range of witnesses were called, they could develop information on the relationships among agribusiness, the Teamsters and the Nixon administration. Such hearings could establish how the Teamsters acquired the farm labor contracts and, once acquired, whether or not they provided the services to farm workers specified in those documents. While the Teamsters make much of their ability to serve the farm workers, most reports indicate that they have not only failed to provide the services promised but may also be retreating from the fields. Farm Workers Local 1973, so elaborately created by Teamsters president Frank Fitzsimmons to organize and service all farm workers in the thirteen Western states, is now being dismantled. Teamsters say the firing of twenty-five organizers and the reassignment of many of the farm labor contracts from Local 1973 to existing trucker-shed locals in various agribusiness centers is an economy move designed to service the work force more efficiently.

Whether they are pulling clear of the fields, or just making a strategic retreat to a new position, something is in the wind. During the first week of January, the U.S. Catholic Bishops' Farm Labor Committee was meeting separately—and secretly—with M.E. (Andy) Anderson, new director of the Western Conference of Teamsters; Cesar Chavez; leaders of both the American and California Farm Bureau Federations; small farmers from the San Joaquin Valley, and ten of the Delano-Arvin table-grape growers now holding Teamsters contracts.

Despite the efforts of Cesar Chavez and the UFW, most farm workers are still rented slaves who must accept what agribusiness offers. The task of organizing farm labor has not really begun, nor can it start to move beyond the limited efforts of the UFW until laws are established to guarantee workers the right to choose their own union and to bargain collectively with their employers. It is my belief after nearly twenty years of watching and writing about farm labor that, given equal organizing conditions, the United Farm Workers would prevail among the majority of the half-million professional farm workers. And I think the issue should be brought under law and put to the test.

But even if the 94th Congress does pass farm labor legislation it will be years before the nation's farm workers can organize themselves and effect contracts that afford them a decent living. They have such a long way to go, and with each passing month the deepening economic depression increases the distance. It is long past time for Congress to act. □

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CASING THE DEMOCRATS #4

Sanford: Everyone's Second Choice

MARK PINSKY

Durham, N.C.

In the dim, distant days of the solid South, when the Democrats were the unchallenged party of preference for those of "Caucasian persuasion," a Southern Republican chanced to meet a preacher friend the day after the elections. The long-suffering, exasperated Republican, particularly sour over the election of an unmitigated scoundrel who was at once a notorious moonshiner, womanizer and nose picker, accosted the clergyman and exclaimed, "I do believe that you'd vote for the Devil himself if he were running on the Democratic ticket!" The preacher thought a moment and drew himself up: "Not in the primary, I wouldn't!"

Before the candidacies of Dixiecrat Strom Thurmond, Republicans Dwight Eisenhower and Barry Goldwater began seriously chipping away at the region, and well before George Wallace, George McGovern and Kevin Phillips combined briefly to resolidify the region in the GOP column, the great year of crisis for Southern Democrats was 1928. Faced with the option of voting for Al Smith, a New Yorker, a Catholic and a "wet" on the issue of prohibition, many Southerners voted Republican for the first time in their lives. Those in North Carolina who stood by Al Smith in 1928 were known as "100 per cent Democrats" because they supported the ticket from top to bottom. According to his official campaign biography, one of the least noticed of this hardy little band was 11-year-old Terry Sanford, marching down the main street of Laurinburg, N.C., in a torchlight parade and carrying a sign—"Me & Ma Is for Al Smith." For the next forty-six years Sanford never wavered in his support for the Democratic Party and its Presidential candidates, regardless of their popularity in his home state. As the Democratic nominee for governor in 1960, he campaigned personally with John F. Kennedy, an act credited with helping JFK carry the state; eight years later, he served as national co-chairman of Citizens for Humphrey-Muskie, despite indications of imminent disaster (Humphrey finished third behind Nixon and Wallace, the first loss for a Democratic Presidential candidate in North Carolina since the Al Smith year of 1928); in 1972, when he was president of Duke University, he supported and campaigned for the extremely unpopular George McGovern (that year the Democrats lost both a U.S. Senate seat and the governor's mansion for the first time in 100 years). For his faithful support, Sanford was twice considered for the Vice Presidential nomination and the national chairmanship of the party and, in 1972, was appointed chairman of the Democratic Charter Commission.

Within the state Democratic Party, Sanford has always been a stalwart of the liberal wing, working in the U.S. Senate campaigns of Dr. Frank Porter Graham in 1950 and W. Kerr Scott in 1954, two of the textbook classics for campaigns of race-baiting and red-baiting. ("What I learned from the campaign against Dr. Frank," Sanford recalls, "kept me from letting them get away with the same thing against Kerr Scott four years later.") His own rise was swift, and advance in ten years from state chairman of the Young Democrats to state Senator to Governor.

Since pre-Colonial days, the yeomen farmers and gentlemen planters of the South have stubbornly resisted the idea of a strong executive in their state governments. The state constitutions have reflected this bias, for many years containing provisions that forbid state Governors the right to veto legislation or to succeed themselves in office, or that limit the terms of office to two years, or restrict service to two terms. These provisions, coupled with the demise in the 1840s of the Whig Party, the only viable political alternative (except in a few Border states), insured until recently a condition of near anarchy in the state Democratic Party over control of the executive branch, wherein gubernatorial races resembled battles between the personal political armies of *condottieri*, dependent upon temporary alliances with waning former and waxing future governors. This meant, in practical terms, that if a governor hoped either to get himself re-elected or "promoted" to the relative security of the U.S. Senate, he had to make certain not to offend any significant interest group, geographic area or the legislature, over which he usually had very little control. Consequently, many a Southern politician hit on the ingenious formula of pitching his campaign against "the niggers"—who were not, in substantial numbers, permitted to vote—and then doing nothing while in office but prepare for the next election. Governors who deviated from this formula, either by refusing to campaign on the race issue or by trying to do something while governor, became "one-term wonders." (Huey Long in Louisiana was the notable exception.)

Terry Sanford ran for governor in 1960 without using the race issue and after a narrow victory in the primary runoff, was elected in a comparatively close general election. Yet, without an electoral mandate, not even in control of the state Democratic Party (the previous summer Sanford had been able to deliver less than half of the state delegation to Kennedy at the convention in Los Angeles), without a veto and prohibited from succeeding himself, Sanford nonetheless began his term in 1961 with an ambitious legislative program and a series of strong legislative actions, particularly in the field of public education. He raised the salaries of the state's public schoolteachers; he threw his support behind what was to become, ten years later, the second largest community college system in the country; he set up a North Carolina School of the Arts, a state film board, a two-week "Governor's school" for gifted high school seniors, and a think tank known as the Learning Institute of North Carolina

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(LINC). Outside of education, Sanford established, with Ford Foundation money, one of the first anti-poverty community action programs, the North Carolina Fund, which was subsequently used as a model by the Office of Economic Opportunity. Sanford's administration strongly backed the Research Triangle Park, first developed by his predecessor, Gov. Luther Hodges, a massive industrial park located between the cities of Raleigh, Durham and Chapel Hill, which was restricted to research and development facilities—"clean industry." With all this activity, Sanford was able to attract to his administration some of the brightest young minds in the state, those who might otherwise have gone north to make their fortunes and reputations. He also enlisted, from inside the state and elsewhere, people whom one might never expect to find inside state government: Harold Howe, later U.S. Commissioner of Education, was brought in to head LINC; novelist John Ehle, then a professor at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, wrote an article critical of the university system which won him an invitation to dinner at the mansion and an appointment as an adviser to Sanford.

Then there was the tone of the Sanford administration: soft-peddling opposition to school desegregation, a very hot issue that was arousing truculent defiance from neighboring Governors; talking and writing about a new relationship between the states and the federal government, carefully labeling it "New Federalism," rather than the more familiar "states' rights"; and, of course, Sanford's personal sense of humor, dry and self-depreciating, so much like the Kennedys and in such great contrast to the more traditional corniness and buffoonery of the Southern political style.

Sanford's reward for all this activity was to enter the company of "one-term wonders," unable even to insure the election in 1964 of his friend and protégé, U.S. District Judge L. Richardson Preyer, like himself from the liberal wing of the state party. In 1968, the next year he was eligible for the governorship, Sanford never seriously considered running; instead, he eyed the U.S. Senate seat of Sam J. Ervin. A survey indicated that Sanford had no chance, so he remained out of electoral politics until 1972, when he met his most embarrassing defeat at the hands of Alabama Gov. George Wallace in North Carolina's first Presidential preference primary.

Since the turn of the century, journalism dealing with Southern politics has been notoriously misleading, a noxious mixture of equal parts corn pone and bullshit. In the early 1900s newspapermen, usually Northerners, repeatedly made the error, common among outsiders, of assuming that the Southern politician thought as slowly as he spoke, giving wide circulation to the caricature of the bigoted hayseed. It was left to the book writers, the novelists, historians and political scientists, to rectify the inaccuracy. More recently, as if to compensate for past errors, an equally misleading school of revisionist journalists—still dominated by Northerners—has become influential. Clinging to a new stereotype—the sly country boy/Good Ole Boy caricature—they consistently confuse intelligence with animal cunning, especially when describing George Wallace and his political lieutenants. Between these two extremes one finds, particularly during the 1950s and 1960s, a "relativist school" of reporting, practiced largely by the expatriate Southerners who enrich so many Northern newspapers and national magazines. These primarily liberal journalists, for the most part gifted writers, wouldn't have been caught dead using the expression "a credit to his race" in writing about black people; nonetheless, they exhibited a propensity for writing about moderate Southern politicians on a thinly veiled "credit to his region" basis, rejoicing to discover a landsman whose grammar or views on lynching did not embarrass them at New York cocktail parties.

Gov. Terry Sanford was both the victim and beneficiary of this kind of puffery, which often described him in effusive terms as the prince of a mythical kingdom known as the "New South." His administration—running from 1961 to 1965—was progressive more in symbol than in substance, characterized by pilot programs and showcase undertakings, particularly in the area of education, which were subsequently disemboweled or cut off by the legislature after his departure from office. Many of the educational programs written up in *Look* and *The Saturday Evening Post*, including those which survived the legislature, catered to small numbers of elite students. Others, like the community college system, turned out to have a darker side, providing free industrial training for "runaway industry" from the unionized North. In civil rights, Sanford was never above using his own brand of muted, defensive demagoguery in the heat of highly charged political campaigns, when his own liberal candidate was in danger of being race-baited over a volatile subject like school desegregation. In 1964, a series of nonviolent sit-in demonstrations were going on at Chapel Hill, led in large part by young North Carolinians, black and white, who had been early and enthusiastic Sanford supporters in 1960. At the same time, Sanford was in the midst of orchestrating the gubernatorial campaign of L. Richardson Preyer, with the survival of all the programs he had been able to establish at stake. While the students looked to Sanford for support, Sanford recalls, Preyer's conservative opponents "were beating us over the head with the race issue" and running ads in state newspapers railing against "the festering Red sore in Chapel Hill." In response, Sanford issued a statement equating extremists in the civil rights movement with extremists in the Ku Klux Klan. Sanford, a former FBI agent, was also the last North Carolina Governor to allow a prisoner to die in the gas chamber. The Governor who followed him, not from the liberal wing of the party, automatically postponed all subsequent executions. Sanford now opposes capital punishment.

A more fundamental criticism of Sanford, which lingers to this day, is rooted in what he has always seen as his constituency. Since he first ran in 1960 his support has come from black voters (10 to 12 per cent of the vote in the general election) and the educated, more affluent "decent white folks," in large measure to the exclusion of lower-middle-class and working-class whites. Sanford insists this is more a function of racial attitudes than economic status, yet while in office he put through the legislature a sales tax on groceries (which he now

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opposes) in order to finance a general increase in the salaries of public school teachers, who have always been among his strongest supporters. For this reason, many public school teachers refer to him as "the Education Governor," while his opponents still refer to him as "High Tax Terry."

The president's office at Duke University is a 2nd floor corner, roomy and comfortable, with worn green carpeting, ancient embroidered drapes and several small tables full of knickknacks. Along one wall is a floor-to-ceiling bookshelf, stocked with works on Duke (the family as well as the university), Southern history and politics and education, including Sanford's *Storm Over the States* and *But What About the People?* The occupant of the office reclines in a black leather desk chair, his foot propped on an open, lower desk drawer, speaking in low tones into a white plastic telephone.

Terry Sanford has sandy hair that frames a strong, squarish, lightly tanned face that usually betrays little emotion. After many visits, one notices his favorite gestures: a tug on the left ear lobe, a touch of his left cheek with the right forefinger. One also learns to watch the crow's-feet by his eyes and the creases at the corners of his mouth, where slight changes of tension are the only indications of emotion, except for the three forehead lines he wrinkles to feign surprise or interest, or the rare, unguarded instants when his eyes flash—blaze really.

Sanford is basically a decent sort, clever without being devious, preferring to hedge rather than mislead. He speaks in a modified drawl and, at worst, can be a reporter's nightmare: platitudinous speeches and long, rambling, Eisenhower-like monologues in interviews. His stump style is as restrained as his face and he eschews rant and rhetoric.

Since 1970, when he assumed the Duke presidency, Sanford has made the university a more interesting and exciting place for work and study. Much as he did in his gubernatorial administration, he has attracted to Duke innovative names in the academic field, including Robert Coles, James David Barber and Walter DeVries, in the process overcoming much of the initial skepticism shown by the senior faculty when his appointment was announced. (Sanford has a law degree but no Ph.D.) There has been considerable emphasis on practical politics and governance, centered in the newly established Policy Sciences Institute, as well as a Fellows in Communications Program, headed by former NBC correspondent Sander Vanocur, in cooperation with the Department of Political Science. One of the largest oral history programs in the country has been established at Duke, funded by a hefty foundation grant and specializing in the history of Southern blacks and working-class white men and women. For medicine and the physical sciences, Sanford has snared a number of multimillion-dollar research and construction gifts; it is a feat, given the state of the economy.

Sanford has an enviable reputation for tolerance, and sympathy for personal failings and weakness in others that goes back to his term as governor. However, on a number of occasions in his first few years at Duke, he circulated pompous "open letters," delivered "tough" speeches and released stern statements on dormitory co-

Terry Sanford

habitation, drug use and "pornographic" photographs in the yearbook—all of which, his aides maintain, were for "off-campus consumption." Nowadays his speeches (they average one a week) deal with more substantive topics, like the future of private higher education, federalism and the Democratic Party, National Health Insurance. Sanford is aware of the gaps in his reputation in the areas of foreign affairs and the economy and, with the help of some Duke professors, has begun a crash program to develop strong position papers in those areas. Rather sensitive to rumblings about using the university to run for President, Sanford has asked for and received the approval of the Duke trustees before each major political task that he has taken on, and plans to take a sabbatical beginning in January of 1976.

The nation's major problems are rather obvious, he says, but underlying virtually all of them is the fact that "government is ripping us off."

> The President and the Congress and everybody else knows that our economic mess is our number-one problem. But what dismays me is that nobody seems to appreciate the historic opportunity it offers us at the same time. If we reform our economy properly right now, we can turn this nation around and at the same time solve some of the more fundamental problems in American government and our other institutions—industry, education, transportation, health care and about everything else that has plagued us. . . . It dismays me that we're talking about economic theories and policies as if somehow they deserve more attention than people. That's

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exactly backwards. We're going to have to take care of our people first—do what's right—and then fit economic policies around that. The irony of this backwards approach, it seems to me, is that it blinds us to the fact that the likeliest way to restore our economy is to do what's right—to respond to the deepening needs of our lower- and middle-income people, and to finance that with honest tax reform.

In times like these, the biggest thing Americans have to fear is *not* "fear itself," but getting flimflammed, getting short-changed, thrown out of their jobs, taxed unfairly and served inadequately. So it's morally incumbent —as well as politically incumbent—on the American President today to provide not only economic leadership but moral leadership, to reform relationships between the American citizen and his or her institutions.

It is the conventional wisdom that the new rules for delegate selection to the 1976 Democratic National Convention, combined with the present dearth of charismatic candidates, point toward a deadlocked or brokered convention, and it is upon this now likely eventuality that Terry Sanford bases his Presidential campaign. If a candidate's name is not Kennedy, any scenario that has as its denouement the winning of the Democratic Presidential nomination sounds far-fetched. In the case of Sanford, out of political office for ten years, it is even more far-fetched than most. Still, the best chance one has of being struck by lightning is to pitch hay during a thunderstorm and, since the thunderstorm season for Presidential hopefuls begins in New Hampshire in early 1976, Sanford will enter that state's primary, where his lieutenants feel he need make only a "visible" showing. That is to be followed by a victory in at least one non-Southern primary and, of course, the North Carolina primary.

When and if weary delegates begin looking around for a compromise candidate, his strategists hope their eyes will fall on Terry Sanford—everybody's second choice. After all, his people like to point out, it was at just such a deadlocked Democratic convention in 1912 that the party turned to a Southern-born, former university president and one-term Governor, Woodrow Wilson.

Political reporter Richard Reeves wrote recently that, in the event of a deadlocked convention, the eventual winner would be "the least unacceptable alternative to the most Democrats" (who he predicted would be Edmund Muskie). If indeed that is the criterion, Sanford is in a far better position than most would expect. He is, naturally, acceptable to Southern Democrats and on good terms with Southern Governors. He is also acceptable to:

Labor Democrats. Inside and outside of North Carolina, Sanford has been personally popular with all factions of organized labor. As Governor, he supported an increase in the minimum wage and extension of workmen's compensation to migrant workers; he commuted the prison terms of six textile union activists convicted under dubious circumstances in the wake of a bitter strike. In 1971, when Local 1199 was organizing in the Duke Hospital, Sanford met personally with a national officer of the union to work out an agreement; in 1972, Wilbur Hobby, head of the state AFL-CIO went to the Miami convention pledged to Sanford. On the national level, he is on good terms with George Meany, despite his differences with COPE director Al Barkan during the hearings of the Democratic Charter Commission, and his strong support from the National Education Association should make him acceptable even to Albert Shanker.

Black Democrats. Sanford still gets considerable mileage out of his reputation as a Southern liberal. He also has the active support of two of North Carolina's black Mayors, Clarence Lightner of Raleigh and Howard Lee of Chapel Hill, as well as that of Barbara Morgan of the District of Columbia, one of the leaders of the Charter Commission's Black Caucus.

Reform Democrats. Among New Politics Democrats, Sanford's support derives from his quiet but persistent assistance to them during the hearings of the Democratic Charter Commission. At several junctures he provided support to those hoping to preserve key party reforms, and helped shepherd those reforms into the charter at the National Policy Conference in Kansas City.

Regular Democrats. Sanford's record as a loyal party man has earned him the respect and personal friendship of many old-line Democrats, from Richard Daley to Hubert Humphrey. Of perhaps more significance is the admiration of the many faithful, middle-level Democratic Party workers on the Charter Commission—those who later provided the swing votes on close questions—who came to value his open and even-handed stewardship of the commission. These largely anonymous party workers were all in Kansas City and will probably be at the national convention. They may not be conspicuous, but within their state delegations they are listened to.

A consensus of sorts has been building within the Democratic Party on the subject of George Wallace. It is best summarized by Mississippi's national committeewoman, Patt Derian. "He comes too high," she observed in Kansas City. He has a constituency that needs to be spoken to, but "the party just can't afford him." And so, the increasingly firm feeling among Democrats is that the Alabama Governor must be finished off politically before the 1976 national convention. Not behind his back and not in the back rooms, but fairly and decisively in his own back yard—the Southern Presidential primaries. Of necessity, this task is likely to fall to a Southerner or a group of Southerners who have little to lose in terms of their own political careers. If it is not Terry Sanford, then perhaps former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter or Texas Sen. Lloyd Bentsen will be the man. If these prove unequal to the task, then Florida Gov. Reuben Askew might be drafted by party leaders, or even newly elected Sens. Dale Bumpers (D., Ark.) or Wendell Ford (D., Ky.), both former governors of Border states. (This electoral strategy, regardless of the main standard bearer[s], would require the cooperation of another Southern politician—Julian Bond—whose entrance into other Southern primaries, except Alabama, could effectively split the liberal/moderate vote and provide Wallace with a string of victories.) If this strategy were to work, the Democratic Party would have to make a place on the 1976 ticket for a Southerner, although for pragmatic reasons and depending on the bitterness of the primaries, the Southerner who gets on the ticket may not be the same Southerner who eliminates Wallace. □

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

The Rehabilitation of Natural Philosophy

THE UNIVERSE OF EXPERIENCE: A World View Beyond Science and Religion. *By Lancelot Law Whyte. Harper & Row. 176 pp. $9. Paper $3.45.*

THEODORE ROSZAK

Although there is much science in our world, there are not many people who deserve to be called "scientists." Most of those who go by the name are, in reality, enzymologists or plasma physicists or invertebrate zoologists or microbial cell physiologists or one of a thousand super-refined specializations. But "science" as a vision of nature in its totality—both human and physical—is the responsibility of none of these. In their twilight years, a few Nobel Laureates, secure in their professional reputation, have been known to weaken toward broader perspectives and humanistic ruminations; but not many of their colleagues take such extracurricular antics seriously. Careers in science are built on hard research, not generalized wisdom.

Lancelot Law Whyte was a scientist in the classic sense: a natural philosopher, one of the last of this endangered species. Trained in physics under the great Rutherford, he became a "dropout" (his own description) from the British scientific community in his early 20s. He was gifted, or cursed, with far too great a theoretical passion for Rutherford's sternly empirical laboratories. And he was already in the grip of a grand, holistic vision of nature. He called it "the unitary principle," and by its light he became as well versed in biology, astronomy, psychology and philosophy as in physics. If there is such a thing as the uniformity of nature—so Whyte reasoned—it can only become apparent to those who undertake the study of science as a seamless fabric; and then the unitary principle should be manifest in some simple, integrating conception that holds true in all fields.

Of course, the uniformity of nature is an article of faith which all specialists profess. But for most, it is a passive assumption, not an active commitment; they expect that *somehow* and *eventually* all the scattered little deposits of specialized data will fall into place in the big picture of nature, like the dots of color in a Pointillist painting. On the other hand, there are the reductionists, those terrible systematizers whose project is the ultimate translation of all things into the laws and probabilities of physics. With them, psychology becomes biology, biology becomes chemistry, chemistry becomes quantum mechanics, until, at last, the mind of Shakespeare emerges as "nothing but" an elaboration of scrambled electrons.

Whyte's approach was neither of these. He would not wait to see universal law pieced together out of atomistic research; he impatiently went after the big, central truth directly. Nor would he mutilate the human and organic realms of nature to fit the physicist's Procrustean bed. He did not want unity by reduction, but by comprehension. His vision was pinned to the fundamental fact of *hierarchy* in nature: the qualitative ordering of ontological levels. He looked for a truth that unified without mechanistic or materialistic distortion, something that could be independently and manifestly perceived at all levels of nature and which *worked its way up* toward completion at the higher echelons of the natural hierarchy. He found what he was after in the dynamics of form. Like Goethe, whom he regarded as his chief inspiration, Whyte was a morphologist—but on a cosmic scale.

Whyte's career was as irregular as his style of thought. To the end of his days he considered himself a theoretical physicist and did much reviewing and publishing in professional journals. But he maintained no academic connections, and even strayed as far from the laboratory as to become a banker for a period of years, in the 1930s. In that capacity, he played a crucial role in financing the early development of jet propulsion in Great Britain. Such mavericks fare less and less well in the scientific profession in our time, especially if they turn philosophical and begin ta'king to the general public. In 1946, Whyte wrote *The Next Development in Man*, a book that became a great success in the United States and gave him a wide following, for the most part among artists, architects, designers, psychologists and offbeat philosophers. Paul Goodman and Frederick Perls honored him as the major theoretician of Gestalt therapy. Alan Watts and Arthur Koestler became admirers and associates. Lewis Mumford paid constant homage to the seminal character of his work. (Indeed, Mumford, Whyte and Patrick Geddes stand as the reigning triumvirate of organismic philosophy in our time.)

But such exoteric acclaim only served to freeze Whyte more decisively out of the scientific guild. Though he grounded all he wrote in challenging, well-researched and original thought on physics, biology and psychology, his head seemed to be in too many different spaces, and he did not talk enough numbers to gain professional approval. Professions, after all, exist to defend their lines of demarcation; generalists are the enemy at the frontier. Whyte was caught between two worlds. Those who respected his work were not competent to judge or certify the advanced scientific theory on which it was based. The scientific community, whose criticism his theories needed, gave him progressively less attention. While Whyte knew a great deal more science than Arthur Koestler, his relationship with the world of science became very much like that Koestler now has. He was a knowledgeable critic, but a distinctly ignorable outsider who might act as host to conferences on fascinating new ideas in science—like the concept of hierarchy, or the internal factors in evolution—but with little prospect of professional recognition except from adventurous minds along the fringes.

I knew Lancelot Whyte during the last two years of his life. Then in his mid-70s, he was nearly old enough to be my grandfather; but we became close friends nonetheless. He was working on the final draft of *The Universe of Experience* the last time I saw him: bedridden in the hospital following a heart attack. A few months after I left London in the spring of 1972, he died. I learned from our conversations how especially frustrating these final years were for him. He painfully felt the unrelenting neglect of the scientific profession, and of the intellectual community generally in Britain. At the same time, he had become possessed by the conviction that a new generation was emerging in the United States which was

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peculiarly in tune with his thought and ready to be won over to the unitary principle. He was almost feverishly eager to reach that counter-cultural public with new writing and to become one of its senior mentors before his time ran out. He surely had greater claim to the role than a Buckminster Fuller or a Herbert Marcuse. His was a richer, more humanistic mind by far; and if there is an organic and holistic sensibility newly abroad, Whyte must be numbered among its major sources, even though his influence flows along subterranean currents. He needed and deserved the recognition. The day I said goodby to him, I left him a copy of *The Last Whole Earth Catalog*; in it his works (many of them now out of print) were given special mention as basic reading in the "new consciousness." He was too complimented to speak. But he has preserved his optimistic gratitude in his last book:

> I see in the youth protests of the late 1960s in America the one social encouragement of this century, for some at least of these young men and women tried to stand for the universal dignity of man, the quality of individual experience, the enhancement of living for immediacy, joy, and love. . . . If mankind comes through to hail the year 2000 it will owe this primarily to a new U.S.A., now coming into being behind all the ugliness, violence, and dominance of money, and since 1950 putting a fresh emphasis on the quality of individual experience. . . .

Whyte must have known this book would be his intellectual last will and testament. He has filled it with an aggressive, evangelical zeal. Angry impatience, especially with the state of contemporary science, and impassioned conviction permeate its pages. At times, he assumes an almost messianic air, speaking of himself as "the carrier of the universal," or, like Blake, a mere "secretary" for "the communication of a necessity." But then this is meant to be a world-saving declaration, and Whyte was a great enough mind to risk the presumption. His portrayal of himself in all he wrote was that of a man twenty years ahead of his time, appealing to bright young minds for vindication. Again and again, he banked his theories on scientific breakthroughs and cultural transformations he forecast in the generation to come. In this book, the predictive passages mount to a prophetical intensity, as if Whyte were saying: it had *better* turn out as I say, or we're all done for. He was writing beneath the shadow of a greater doom than his own death. Those who feel put off by the oracular tone should bear in mind that this is the swan song of a significant thinker, certainly one of the most gifted natural philosophers of our century.

While the book vibrates with an intoxicated urgency, Whyte has nevertheless made it an admirably succinct and rigorous statement of his scientific vision. The main idea is this:

> . . . the known universe as a whole, and every organism, including man, contains a graded sequence of units in each of which a formative tendency has been, or still is, present. Nature is everywhere creating forms when conditions permit, just as there is an order-generating tendency in our own minds, when not pathological, this mental tendency being a particular expression of a universal tendency. *Natura naturans* is a workshop of forms, and [my] world view of nature not only a philosophy but the basis of many future *sciences of form* in inorganic, organic, and mental nature.

Whyte pits this "universal hierarchy of morphic processes" against the entropic tendency which is conventionally held to be carrying all things inexorably toward dissipation and doom. It is one of his main purposes to dislodge the second law of thermodynamics from its central position in science. He observes the obvious, but much neglected contradiction: that in a universe supposedly governed by entropy, the two cosmologies astronomers now offer us are anti-entropic. Either the universe holds to a steady state, or it is exploding outward from a "big bang" that followed the super-concentration of some primordial cosmic dust. In either case, the universe is characterized by order, not entropy. In the case of the expanding universe (the prevailing hypothesis at present) there is more form and order in existence now than before the big bang. Once, the universe was perfectly entropic: an infinity of irreducibly primitive particles. Now it is not. Now it is morphically complex and hierarchically ordered, a universe of three-dimensional structures either in stable existence or moving in that direction through one-way processes in time. The universe not only *is* this way, but it continues to develop toward this end in obedience to evolutionary tendencies that are now envisaged by the various sciences to comprehend the inorganic as well as the organic.

Thus, biochemistry today assumes a pre-biotic, chemical evolution of the macromolecules, and astrophysics assumes an evolutionary life-cycle governing stars and galaxies. And even if stars, upon their "death," do become black holes (as some adventurous speculation currently suggests), that may not be the end of the morphic thrust. For there is even more daring speculation that the black holes "fall through" space-time to come out the "other side" of the universe as *white* holes—which are, perhaps, the energy at the core of new galaxies or the true origin of quasars. In any case, at least up through the implosion of dwarf stars, the morphic tendency rules the behavior of matter. Quarks have assembled themselves into particles, particles into atoms, atoms into molecules. In turn, the molecules branch off along one line into planets, solar systems, galaxies, galactic clusters; and along their second line of development, they become intricate cellular structures, which become coordinated, growing, reproductive organisms, and at last intelligent beings living in organized societies, enveloping themselves in highly ornate cultures.

This form- and structure-building process is as old as the universe and shows every sign of being supremely stable and infinitely ongoing. Where, in this big picture, is entropy, the enemy of form and order? The answer is: it is confined to tiny, contrived examples under analysis in the laboratories of scientists. Such "closed systems" are highly exceptional things in the universe. "Nature," Whyte observes, "does not not seem to care much about them":

> The fact which we cannot . . . deny is that over vast regions of space and immense periods of time . . . the tendency toward disorder has not been powerful enough to arrest the formation of the great inorganic hierarchy and the myriad organic ones. The conditions of the universe and of this earth have been on the whole favorable to the morphic processes.

Whyte's vision has that compelling uniformity, simplicity and comprehensiveness which characterize all great scientific ideas. One feels, in its presence, that same sense of the suddenly discovered obvious which one finds in the work of Copernicus, Newton, Pasteur and Darwin. Yes, one finds oneself saying, why not accept the view that simplifies and integrates? What could be more apparent than that nature is a morphic and hierarchical whole?

For Whyte, this great truth was not simply a theory of nature. He saw it as the basis of "a world revolution, of a new religion, and of a scientific synthesis." It could be the vision that heals the human being's alienation from nature and cures the dissociation of our sensibilities. For the hierarchy of morphic processes Whyte saw in the universe at large is also at work in the human personality: in the natural coordination of the organism, in the spontaneous tendency of perception to seek Gestalt-like

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THE MOONLIT UPPER DECKERINA

"I love to ride the ferry
where music is so merry.
There's a man who plays
the concertina
on the moonlit upper deckerina."*

The rustle of doves ascending,
a light breaks out in my brain.
Gently, like blood, a hammer beats
there. Arms divide into wings
and lift me beyond the weight
of my body. All around is the swell
of other departures, the quickening

crowd on its way to the pier.
Grandfather, dressed all in white
to match his beard, checks us in
with his blessing and his faith
in a fine passage on a prosperous
sea. On this shore the frogs sing.
Yesterday there was no sound

but lamentation. It was our lives,
broken on wheels. But tonight
is the night of the lamb, of tired
horses, the night of the poor.
The moment between the last star
and the sun when the bread and the staff,
the flower and the peach,

the farewell and the promise
become one. All my life the days
crept by on hands and knees
in a kind of madness, I stood
holding their shells to my ear.
A faint roar remained like the echo
I was waiting to hear. At last

we are together at this rail, the sea
tilting smoothly away, the waves
advancing. At our side the silky
bodies play again, the animals
we love. We are here to sail
on the crystal ship to the land of lands.
Glass sails unfold like light,

banners tinkling on the air.
We catch the wind in our hands
and toss it back to where it beats
upward forever, to the center
of the mind's eye. To the tiny
ship reflected there and all of us
together, joined in the dance.

Grandfather thumps out the pace
on his good leg. Crickets are busy
and nestlings cheep to keep the time.
From the prow a lantern swings
like a single flame. Good sailors
already, we roll with the swaying
slippery deck of the ark.

Naomi Lazard

*"Ferry-Boat Serenade": Words by Harold Adamson, music by E. DiLazzaro, copyright 1940, copyright renewed 1967, Robbins Music Corp.

wholes, in the mind's search for intellectual and aesthetic order. The world view Whyte recommends to us vanquishes "Anti-man with his hopeless relativism" and replaces him with "Unitary Man . . . able to be more harmonious because he has become aware of the ordering processes at all levels in nature, without and within. In this new vision, man finds an absolute on which his thought can rest, for here at last subject and object are potentially fused in a single insight."

Whyte's world view is meant to be more than science, but it is nonetheless grounded in science. The audience to which he ultimately appeals is the scientific community, even though, in this work, he confines his more technical and theoretical arguments to extensive footnotes. Nothing he says is meant to be accepted as valid unless future fact and theory support it; Whyte never gave up hope that a mathematics of "global variables" would yet be invented to give his morphic vision a rigorous, experimental expression. As inspirational a document as this is, it is not intended to be a revelation but a guide and invitation to research. Its literary mode is that of Bacon's *Novum Organum*, Descartes' *Discourse on Method*, LaMettrie's *Man a Machine*, or Haeckel's *History of Creation*. It is a scientific manifesto intended to promote a general paradigm for future theory and experiment. And, like its predecessors in this odd genre, it promises not only fruitful research but world salvation.

How likely is Whyte's vision to receive in the foreseeable future the scientific validation he sought and predicted for it? I think not very. In this work, as in all his previous writing, he is asking more than professional science can give him—no less than a 180-degree turn of the scientific consciousness.

The problem is this: the prime fact on which Whyte builds his world view is the existence of various kinds of three-dimensional form and hierarchical structuring in nature. Now, the order he saw is really there; no scientist would dispute that. There are whole fields of science (such as stereochemistry or X-ray crystallography) which are now devoted to the study of three-dimensional natural structures. Whyte becomes controversial when he contends that the structures are there because a special, as yet unexplicated morphic process has put them there, a process which he believed could be expressed as "the relaxation of extended spatial forms toward symmetry." Hidden in this idea is the conviction that the fundamental forces of nature are finalistic and holistic: immaterial tendencies that are out to shape matter into symmetries and hierarchies. But conventional science is dominated by a paradigm (and by a psychology) which insists that fundamental nature is random and atomistic. In its view, the "well-formed terminal states" Whyte studies can only be understood by analyzing quantitatively the behavior of their particularized components, which are ultimately governed by probabilities, and so by chance. Somehow, whatever looks like predestined form or orthogenic evolution must be portrayed as the accidental outcome of more primitive, radically aimless activities. Finding a way to do that is what scientists tell us a scientific explanation is all about.

Imagine two observers watching a table top covered with metal filings. Suddenly the filings begin to shift about and assume various regular shapes. The conventional scientist perceives the shapes, but insists that their appearance is the fortuitous outcome of movement among several billion filings; the job of science, he would say, is to scrutinize the filings and to discover what forces or laws or probabilities account for their behavior. The reality of the phenomenon is the movement of the parts, not the shape of the whole. The other observer, following Whyte, would argue that such regularities could not be the haphazard result of random gyrations among the filings. There must be something else involved here, something like an invisible finger which sets out to draw these shapes and, in doing so, pushes the filings into such configurations. For this observer, the task of science is to understand the behavior of that finger. What are the forms it prefers to draw, and how does it achieve them?

The image of an invisible finger would perhaps be too anthropomorphic (or deistic) for Whyte's tastes, but his world view does come close to crediting nature with an intelligent patterning capacity—though a purely impersonal one. And that is a route science has, thus far, forsworn in the modern Western world, preferring a nature that is purposeless and mindless, where ordered complexity just happens to happen.

Similarly with the idea of hierarchy: for Whyte the cosmic hierarchy is prescriptive, indicating a direction in which nature prefers to move in obedience to its morphic tendency. But the only hierarchies conventional science recognizes are those based on quantitative differences between various orders: bigger or smaller, more or less complex. It prefers to use entropy as "time's arrow"; not because there is—or ever could be—any proof that the universe as a whole is

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entropic but because scientists are rarely concerned with the universe as a whole. Rather, they are concerned with specific, experimental situations, and the essence of experiment is contrivance and control. It is a matter of building a little, airtight box around what you study in order to isolate selected factors and secure precise measurements. In the nature of things, such little boxes are closed systems, and therefore what scientists want from thermodynamics are laws that will predict what happens in closed systems. What happens is entropy. Hence the second law, which serves experimental purposes admirably and so is confirmed over and again by experimentation. Whyte's goal was to understand nature; most conventional scientists seek to understand experiments or, more properly, models of nature that can be embodied in experiments. That is the difference between natural philosophy and specialized research.

But there may be more to the matter. For scientists have generalized entropy to the universe at large, in spite of the fact that there are no cosmologies available which make any entropic sense. Why have they done such a zany thing? Perhaps it is because entropy is nihilistic; it points toward universal death and dissolution, and so supports the assumption of an alien, humanly meaningless universe, a universe which is impassively, impersonally there for detached study and manipulation. This would be the universe that most effectively excludes all the hylozoistic assumptions of pre-modern natural philosophy. From this conveniently objective viewpoint, nothing could be more obnoxious than Whyte's idea of "valued qualitative states" and Aristotelean potentialities in nature. Such ideas cannot help but inhibit the smooth and rapid advance of research by intruding philosophy upon science and demanding wholeness of vision.

It is true enough that science has often changed its ground and dramatically shifted its paradigms against powerful professional resistance. Not much more than a generation ago, Wegener's theory of continental drift was widely regarded by geophysical authorities as a crackpot notion; in the 1930s it was even "proved" to be mathematically impossible. Now, in the form of plate tectonics, it has become the new orthodoxy of the earth sciences. There are many such examples in the various sciences. But what Whyte requires is not simply a change of paradigms in one field of science but the transformation of the fundamental sensibility of science as a whole. To proceed analytically from the whole to the parts, to reduce qualities to quantities, to exclude final causes, to assume the radical objectivity of nature: these are not so many hypotheses up for proof. All this, taken together, *is* science —or at least science as we have known it in the West since the days of Galileo.

For my own, thoroughly unscientific part, I find Whyte's morphological universe to be wise, true and beautiful. It makes more elegant sense of what science has discovered about nature than any rival theory of comparable comprehensiveness. When microbiologists speak of a "recognition system" among the organic molecules, I think they call it "recognition" because they indeed see there a primitive, form-oriented intelligence which adumbrates the human mind. So that is how they too make sense of what they observe. But, of course, they cannot admit that, even though they know it is so. Professional discipline prevents them from suggesting any human meaning in nature which is not a counsel of despair. But the meaning is there nonetheless, and our science would be a poor thing indeed if there were not insurgent types like Lancelot Whyte around its edges who are brave enough to commit the professional indiscretion of saying so. □

Thinking Our Way Out of the Trap

A STRATEGY FOR THE FUTURE: The Systems Approach to World Order. *By Ervin Laszlo. George Braziller. 238 pp. $8.95. Paper $3.95.*

VICTOR LEBOW

One may be permitted to hope that this book will actually blaze a trail to a saner, more orderly, more humane world. Whether that new ordered world in which the nation-states will have been subordinated to a world authority, in which all peoples will have reached a consensus on goals and priorities, can be achieved at all, or within the time span of a relatively few decades, is open to speculation.

For those readers uninitiated in general systems theory, the book's special jargon requires that they have the big Merriam-Webster at their elbow, and the author's involved style does not make for easy comprehension either. Yet his work deserves respect, for Laszlo has set out here not a description of yet another utopia but rather a detailed, specific, rational, step-by-step program for achieving world order "in a new conceptualization that embraces global ecology, geopolitics, human geography, international relations theory, transnational political science, and social ethics and philosophy. It is an attempt to grasp the contemporary situation on this planet in all its diversity."

In a glowing introduction, Richard A. Falk, professor of international law at Princeton, interprets Laszlo's views as arising from "the growing seriousness of the main world-order problems—malnutrition and famine, recurrent warfare, environmental decay, crowding, resource shortages," and suggests these will grow upon the consciousness of individuals and groups until even governments are forced to seek solutions to them. Laszlo believes it is urgent that the most creative and concerned minds around the world join in building a new consciousness about the future of human society. In short, he insists that the future of the human race is too important to be left in the hands of statesmen, generals, cartelists and their ilk—who, in any event, are held within the rigid confines of their dogmas by their unquestioning support of and identification with the system of nation-states.

It is indeed a tall order the author has attempted to fill. Ervin Laszlo is professor of philosophy at the State University of New York at Geneseo and prominent as an exponent of systems theory. This is a way of looking at and understanding organization as a process out of which a relatively stable system can evolve, whether it be that of the electrons in an atom, the atoms in a molecule, or human socio-cultural societies. The appendix outlines those hypotheses of general systems theory which bear upon a systems approach to world order.

Thus, certain specific properties of a whole system which can be identified as unique to it are not simply the sum of the properties of its parts. Whole systems are generally more ordered than the sum of the relative disorders of their parts. As Laszlo points out, were this not so, evolution would result in increasing chaos. (And an ordered world system need not display the antagonisms which characterize relations among nations.) While individuals form systems, the

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characteristic properties of social systems "are not the characteristics of the individual humans who participate in them but arise out of their strands of interaction." Such general aspects of systems theory, together with many others, are the armature upon which Laszlo has fashioned his plan for a new world order.

Today we are aware of global problems—the enormous disparities between the peoples of the earth, the growing number of nation-states, and the worldwide nature of multiplying problems. Laszlo sees this age as one in which there will have to be increasing economic and political interdependence. Habitable space is filling up all over the globe, urban areas are overcrowded, the environment is deteriorating, energy sources are dwindling, and more nations are coming into possession of nuclear capability for total desolation. At the same time, there is the increasing mobility of people even across national boundaries, multinational corporations pay minimal regard to such frontiers, transportation around the world is only a matter of hours, and communication a matter of seconds.

The need for consensus is obvious. "A sense of purpose beyond one's own narrow interests is desperately needed. There has hardly been another period in history when the need for transformation was so great and the room for error so small, as today." In a short review it is impossible to summarize the reasoning which leads up to Laszlo's plan for world order, for it involves a historical survey of the development of those conceptual syntheses which held together the purposes and viewpoints of each age, and a critique of the shortcomings of science for providing either a sense of purpose or an image of the future. Nor does it provide any guidance to the goals of individuals and society as a whole. He has written a thought-provoking analysis of the world today from his special perspective.

Out of Laszlo's approach emerges his plan and his strategy for the future. The first requirement is to form a consensus, on a world scale, which would inculcate in the peoples of the world an understanding of global problems and global values and of the interdependence of all countries and regions. This will involve close ties of solidarity and increasing cultural and intellectual exchanges. But it must start at the local level, be based on adequate public information, and involve participation in political activity. He sees the consensus reached at the grass roots carried up to successively higher levels and eventually affecting the solution of issues which require international and supranational agreement and collaboration. Over the course of its more recent history, Laszlo even sees this development as being manifested in the changes in Soviet foreign and domestic policy, in spite of the control of information exercised by that country.

To disseminate this new global consciousness he calls upon public servants, academics and even top managers of multinational corporations. He expects early enlistment on the part of the followers of the counter-culture, the women's movement, progressive minority and ethnic groups, peace activists and exponents of human rights.

He envisages the emergence of a new breed of progressive figures who could lead this movement, coming out of the involvement in global problems of a humanistic nature on the part of the intellectual elites, and the increasing attention paid by the media of information to this shift in public interest. He sees this coming about in a decade or so.

There would follow a momentous change as "the focus of decision-making . . . [moves] from exclusive centering in the hands of national governments to a broader basis which exceeds the nation-state in both directions, the grass roots as well as the international." He calls for town hall meetings of neighborhoods, with no more than 2,000 people of voting age in each, these to elect representatives to a higher level, and so on to the top supranational organization. Citizens would band together to control their own future, using computers to help determine the effects of alternative policies. He envisages a decisive role for satellites in reporting on earth resources, conditions of soil, forestry, growing rates, rainfall, crop diseases and yields, human settlement, wildlife, mineral resources, pollution—and dangers to peace. With this involvement of citizens working with full information, he expects pressures on governments to lead to intergovernmental agreement on a global scale. This, he feels, should be accomplished during the final decade of this century.

The final phase, "The World Homeostat System," should be entered around the year 2000. This "presupposes the intensification of popular concern in the area of global issues; the recognition that global problems call for supranational solutions; and the prior implementation of a broad basis of decision-making, linking public interest and citizen concern groups with local, national, and regional decision-makers." This should lead to a consensus regarding the necessity of protecting present and future generations from developments which do not conform to the basic purpose of a humanistic world order.

Laszlo then proceeds to outline the form and functions of the world organizations which would provide the information needed for dealing with the global issues affecting the availability of resources necessary to meet the needs of humanity. The function of the top executive body he tells us will be "to optimize the globe's resources for satisfying the hierarchy of human needs for the entire population." (It is truly ironic that President Ford mouthed just such aims in the speech written for him for delivery at the U.N. General Assembly on September 18.) Since Laszlo expects that by the year 2000 disarmament agreements will have been reached and implemented, he sees the World Economic System possessing a nuclear stockpile greater than the stockpile of any one nation. He knows that Russian and American eyebrows will arch in astonishment at such an idea.

He asks, will life be worth living under conditions of zero population growth and zero economic growth? His answer is that this state would be always partly changing, it would never be fully attained, and it would constitute a variable but enduring goal for the strivings of the human race.

Obviously, Laszlo has an abiding confidence in the ability of humanity to learn, adopt new ideas and engage in unpracticed activities. Many questions remain. Why, for one thing, should there be nuclear weapons around at all in such a new world order? And can some of the most populous and authoritarian nations on earth permit the information flow and the citizen participation he requires? Would not this make bedfellows of Ford in America and Amin in Uganda? And surely we can take issue with his time schedule.

Nor can we disregard the ever present threat of authoritarian "solutions" to the mounting and complex problems humanity faces. Laszlo's proposal of grass-roots town meetings are reminiscent of the glowing promises of democracy represented by the original local soviets. And one thinks of Rosa Luxemburg's remarkable foresight when she predicted, in 1918, how crippled life would become in the Soviet Union.

This is not to prophesy such an outcome as inevitable. Man is an adaptable creature. Laszlo is deeply aware of the urgent need for worldwide change, from the neighborhoods to the nation, from the nations to the world as a whole. He knows the time is short. We live on the brink of catastrophe, and unreal as his prescription may seem at first reading, only a world-encompassing reorientation of values, goals and priorities can save us from the destructive forces of totalitarian rule, of nuclear competition, of ruinous despoliation of this earth which has sustained the race for millennia.

These are the reasons that this book

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deserves attention. When one considers that the Meadows-M.I.T. report to the Club of Rome, *The Limits to Growth,* has sold 3 million copies in some twenty-seven languages, from Icelandic to Chinese, it is too bad that Laszlo was unable to present his case in an equally clear and graphic—and popular—fashion. For his message would seem to be more important. This would be especially true if the systems theory can actually work to eradicate, in the short time we may have remaining, the xenophobia, the hatreds, the passions, and particularly the dogmas that plague this planet from Damascus to Tel Aviv, from Harlem to Pretoria, from Peking to Moscow, Washington and Vatican City. □

Literature and the New Bawd

MILLICENT DILLON

I had a certain character in mind: fleshy, broad-shouldered, big-busted, probably bleached-blonde, nearing middle age, loud and lewd. Men laughed at her words, some women blushed. She gave a man the elbow, he sniggered again. The sniggering and blushing drove her to further ribaldry. While she talked, she moved her shoulder in opposition to her hip, then twirled a surprisingly thin ankle. Her flesh was loosely held by what she wore, but underneath was a toughness harder than bone. She was cunning but she mocked all intellectuals. She was always conniving to make a fast buck. She was tough and she was vulgar.

Not long ago it was easy to find her like. But now she is an anachronism. Erica Jong's *Fear of Flying,* Sandra Hochman's *Walking Papers* and Lois Gould's *Final Analysis* are only three of an entire series of novels that make clear what should have been obvious for some time, that that old bawd has had her day.

Consider her replacement: She is lovely—by her own admission, 30, give or take a year or two; once she was fat, now she's thin or thinner, but terrified of being fat again. She has a husband she's divorcing or leaving. She has a lover, an analyst, and usually an M.A. in literature. She laments her lot and that of all women. She's a writer and a masochist. Yet she is a bawd in boldness, bold in the pursuit of her lovers and lustier and bolder in the telling of that pursuit.

Diana Balooka, the heroine of *Walking Papers,* says, "I have experienced a few things in the realm of fucking."

Isadora Wing, the heroine of *Fear of Flying,* says "I fell in love with Bennett partly because he had the cleanest balls I'd ever tasted."

The unnamed heroine of *Final Analysis* says, "I don't think I ever feel guilty for having a sex urge, for indulging, or for tasting myself."

The new bawd seeks to shock, though prohibitions in her world edge toward a vanishing point. (Still, she'll work all the harder for that.) The old bawd reveled in what was prohibited, knew that the laughter she evoked was tied to all prohibitions.

Through her vulgarity the old bawd attacked everything: romantic love, intellect, art, all idealistic humanism without exception. She didn't give a damn why she did what she did. She cared nothing for self-analysis. She was interested only in profit and pleasure.

The new bawd has grander aspirations, arising out of her very nature. She is, again by her own admission, superior in intellect, sensitivity and perception. She may be lewd but she's not cunning or avaricious. She is without guile in saying or doing. She is in search of the ultimate truth, within herself. She is in search of the ultimate creative act, the very novel of herself.

Each has her story:

Isadora Wing, a beautiful 30-year-old poet, attends a psychoanalytic congress in Vienna with her psychiatrist husband, Bennett. Supposedly there to cover the congress for *Voyeur* magazine, she falls in love with Adrian Goodlove, an English analyst of the Laingian school, who persuades her to cast off all care and run off with him. As they travel through Europe, she tells him of her former lovers. But when they arrive in Paris, Adrian dumps her. It seems he was planning to meet his wife all along. Alone in Paris, suffering, isolated, Isadora finds herself and her novel.

Diana Balooka, a beautiful 32-year-old poet, is getting a divorce from her Is-

Millicent Dillon, author of Baby Perpetua, *a collection of short stories, and* The One in the Back Is Medea, *a novel (The Viking Press), formerly taught at Foothill College in Los Altos Hills, Calif. and is a writer for Stanford University News and Publications.*

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raeli husband, Jason. Between quick trips to Lapland and Mexico, she pursues her Armenian lover, Haig. Haig, however, keeps trying to get Diana off his back. Diana, alone in the house, except for four children who are cared for by Nurse, writes poetry and the novel of herself, her past lovers, her childhood, her loneliness and present struggle.

The unnamed heroine of *Last Analysis*, only once referred to as Chuckles, is a beautiful 30-year-old writer who has spent 240 hours in analysis with Dr. Foxx and is divorcing her husband. She and Dr. Foxx begin an affair. Dr. Foxx keeps trying to get Chuckles off his back, but she is persistent. She sends him long letters telling him about her problems: loneliness, fatness, etc. Luckily Dr. Foxx loses all his money in a get-rich-quick scheme and turns to Chuckles for solace. But before she can be united with him in true love she must first spend six months absolutely alone to find herself as a "real" writer, to write the novel of herself.

No wonder that old bawd, that perhaps blonde with her indirect but still certain bonds with the bawds of Rojas, Cervantes and Chaucer, has no reason for being. In the person of the new bawd there is an attempt at a remarkable reconciliation: the fusion of vulgarity with self-discovery and self-conscious art.

First she would be the stand-up comic, flaunting her joke:

> Of course he [Adrian] turned out to have no authority whatever in the matter, but I didn't know that till later. He was bustling around so officiously that you'd have thought he was head of the whole Congress. He *was* chairman of one of the preconferences—but he had absolutely nothing to say about Press. Who cared about Press anyway? All I wanted was for him to press my ass again. I would have followed him anywhere. Dachau, Auschwitz, anywhere. *(Jong)*

But the new bawd wants to evoke more than laughter, shock and titillation from her audience. She seeks sympathy, understanding, compassion and admiration as well:

> . . . Who are these people? Who am I? A woman obsessed with essentials. *(Hochman)*

> Who was I that I alone stood erect all this time? Who was I to survive? *(Gould)*

> . . . Six years of writing and discarding, writing and changing, trying to get deeper into myself. And readers had sent me letters and called me in the middle of the night to tell me that *I* was brave and honest. *(Jong)*

> It only hurts when I laugh—nobody knows that but me. *(Jong)*

RIDDLE

Whose is that face?
At a wind's finger
it is broken and adrift

It is my face

It is my face I jump into
and fall through
I open my eyes
in a sleep of green
The horizon is over my head

till my crown bursts through
and my face takes in
as for the first time
the sky the poplars and the bright air

Brian Swann

However, compassion is not evoked so easily. The stand-up comic's method of working for effects, the bit, the sequence, the quick in-and-out, has already compromised characterization, theme and setting. Most of all the fictive voice has been compromised. So when the new bawd makes her bid for sympathy and admiration, the effect is broken fiction.

Fiction is frail, but broken it takes its revenge; it casts apparent confession as blatant sentimentality. For all its frailty, it has its own inherent laws that cannot be violated so easily. Character and theme must be inseparable. Paradox must have its logical consistency. Contradiction within character must arise out of a deeply rooted conceptualization. The fiction writer must endure a curious doubleness, must maintain an unerring touch with the original conceptualization, and yet simultaneously must submit to the force of the work and the form.

The creators of the new bawds do not submit. In their personal protest they force, they wrench. To achieve their reconciliation of vulgarity and self-conscious art, they use.

But they too have been had, the creators of these new bawds.

They have been had by the myth that everything can be reconciled. They succumb willingly in their fiction to the myth that yes, you can have everything: pleasure, brilliance, creativity, understanding, vulgarity and truth. And maybe even profit.

You can be "beautiful and talented" as Lois Gould will have Chuckles be, and happy and loved and thin and successful and brilliant and bawdy and a "real" writer.

You can be, as Erica Jong will have Isadora Wing be, ". . . the female Chaucer . . . one lusty lady who had juice and joy and love and talent, too. . . ."

You can be, as Sandra Hochman will have Diana Balooka be, not only a woman who would ". . . arise from my bed in the morning in my glory—beast of delight, a woman dressed not for a crisis but for the ordinary things of the day . . ." but also the "huntress," the "noble figure," the "archaic queen."

So wanting forces reconciliation.

It is as if they have no window on the world or as if in their self-absorption they will not accept what they see: that if there is sexual liberation in our time there is also the attenuation of feeling; that if there are barriers being broken, we have also lost a sense of community —that all those gains are attended, inescapably, by loss.

These writers, whose heroines want everything or who lament that they have not had or do not have everything, adapt in the creative act itself techniques intrinsic to the society they decry. They imitate forcing, they mimic competitiveness. (Which heroine is the cleverest, which has the juiciest cunt, which writes the most "real," the most honest book?) They strive for reconciliation by aping in language and in form men whose reconciliations in fiction are in themselves scabrous. The solutions of these women writers tell us in a small way of solutions seized upon too suddenly and too easily in a world of forcing: about onslaughts that are imitations and imitations that are onslaughts.

In a review in *Ms*, Erica Jong wrote:

> It is a sad paradox that when male authors impersonate women (Tolstoy as Anna Karenina, Flaubert as Bovary, Richardson as Clarissa, Lawrence as Constance Chatterley, John Berryman as Mistress Bradstreet), they are said to be dealing with "cosmic, major concerns"—but when we impersonate ourselves we are said to be writing "women's fiction" or "women's poetry."

In one great leap of impersonation, of forced reconciliation that labels itself "liberation," one may arrive at a Portnoy, perhaps, but not a Bovary or an Anna Karenina.

I think of Chekhov, whose men and women live so keenly for us in their actions and in their passivity, who said of himself that he had to free himself "drop by drop" from the slave within him. It is a long way from that "drop by drop" of which Chekhov speaks to the forced liberation, the easy liberation, the instant liberation of the new bawd.

This instant liberation is part of the easing we see all about us. Even our vulgarity is easy, runs no risk. Those writers who created the oldest bawds in literature knew that vulgarity had to risk to give a measure. It was always pushing against a limit. It implied scale by its very lack of subtlety. It was a correc-

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tive, a force for balancing, a force to attack final distinctions and to rage at final distinctions. It was allied, most importantly, to survival. The presence of those oldest bawds suggested the survival of what was elemental. In a world of cant, of hypocrisy, of stultification, where so much was the prisoner of false purity, those oldest bawds were in themselves the guarantees of distinctions, of alternatives.

It was precisely the tension between the elemental vulgarity and the transcending art form that contained it, that gave that literature its vitality. That old bawd never tried to rise to self-transcendence. She was large enough in what she was, she was sure enough in her self-interest. She settled for that distinction, and that distinction gave her larger life within the work that contained her.

But now we live in a world that distrusts distinction, such as purity as against baseness, innocence as against evil. No clear lines can be drawn in words or actions. And there is nothing to be attacked that cannot be overcome. So even vulgarity becomes debased and ultimately useless, only more pap for the leveled multitude we are all supposed to be.

Reading these novels one feels these writers do violence to their own lives.

But rage is not to be mitigated by that understanding.

The new bawd is her own procuress, but we as well as she are the ones who have been had. □

ARCHITECTURE / JANE HOLTZ KAY

The Walker Art Center, Minneapolis, has assembled an exuberant cast of eccentrics for a striking architectural sideshow that is about to tour the country. The makers of these environments, or villages, bear the collective title "Naives and Visionaries"; they offer a remarkable sample of the joys and perversities of the human spirit in its built world.

The nine environment makers or folk architects, all of this century, are called "grass-roots artists" (Walker is a museum, after all). The only one of them at all well known is Simon Rodia, creator of Los Angeles' Watts Tower, but the others are every bit as antic and inventive as he; they all display a freaky genius. The artist-architects collect scrap like magpies, populate their places with dolls' heads, make mosaics of 7-Up bottle glass, and concoct "Gardens of Eden" tenanted with sculptured people and surrounded by vine-covered concrete poles. The end products bear kindship with all architecture—vernacular or grandiloquent—from the tepee and Disneyland to the Art Nouveau masterpieces of Gaudí and the Gothic cathedral.

Except for these 20th-century enchanted islands, the vision of what we build is circumscribed. Architecture does not expand beyond the tired norm. Here one realizes anew how little release the world of architecture has offered those it shelters or serves. I once made a list of adjectives that architecture is *not*. It is not, I jotted down, cantankerous or eccentric, scary or ferocious, or so many of the feelings we sense and celebrate in pure art forms. The architectural virtues are grayer than that, it has always seemed, both in routine functional works and in monuments bearing the labels noble or grand—but not funny or weird.

In the Walker show, inspired by guest curator Gregg Blasdel, the nine places are vividly re-created in backlit photographs and with borrowed sculpture or objects. Even the scraps and fragments and the photos serve as totems: they bring the brilliant but often bizarre and macabre aspects of their home environments to the museum-goer. None but the brave would choose a dark night to meet with Grandma Prisbrey in her Cleopatra doll rooms, with heads on spokes like the gingerbread children in *Hansel and Gretel*. As for Clarence Schmidt, who escaped from Queens to Ohayo Mountain (near Woodstock), what a spectral tepee he has made, a pyramid 6 stories high, its latticed wood hung with the refuse of the machine world and embroidered with found objects. (Schmidt's models of gloved hands and heads stand in the exhibition.) Demons, as readily as the mirror and tinfoil tacked onto the wood-frame house, might have lit the fires that occasionally attack his apparition of a place. "It's like a child of mine. It talks to me every morning," the aging rebel told an art professor, Bill Lipke, who came to film his work. Schmidt is in a nursing home now. The other eight, those of them who are still alive, are no closer than he to the mainstream.

There does seem to be an element of mental disorder in these large constructions. Or, to be precise and somewhat Laingian—there is a mind-set outside the conventional order of our time. Genius is, by nature, obsessive; so are these aberrations and concentrations of thought and labor that took twenty, thirty, forty, even fifty years in the making. But eccentricity does not drain them of their serious architectural input. If a landmark book like *Architecture Without Architects* could show us primitive and vernacular buildings done beautifully without professional guidance; and if the slighter *Handmade Houses* can depict offbeat interiors by unknowns, then this show affirms both impulses still more meaningfully. It eloquently demonstrates the human will to create by oneself a place of large scale, and it reveals an urge to shape objects that springs from some source other than conscious desire to make art or architecture.

We need that affirmation. It, and not simply nostalgia, is why folk forms are so popular today. The impulse to create a place of one's own explains the proliferating literature on self-built houses. Our delight in art that was made against all obstacles helps explain why an exhibition like the Boston Museum of Fine Arts' multi-cultural "Frontier America/ the Far West," with its Indian objects and moose-antler chairs, its star-studded chest and photos of well-sited but fragile buildings, appeals so strongly. In times of toil, some compulsion to go beyond the ephemeral and the mundane still emerged.

Our age of executive architecture has lost the will to ornament in that way; it has so slighted the signs of the human hand that coming upon such exhibitions is like finding a lost self. However, "Naives and Visionaries" will be literally lost to most city people, since it is booked for places like Fort Worth, Dayton and Worcester, Mass. By the same token, the frontier show had to get its financial support from Philip Morris and the National Endowment, rather than the museum. It is strange that institutions that applaud the beauties and mystery of defunct cultures, from the Pyramids on down, cannot comprehend such "wondrous environments that radiate strength and optimism," as Walker Center director Martin Friedman puts it in the introduction to a fine catalogue (Dutton, paper, $8.95).

Several of the folk architects in the touring Minneapolis show are still alive; now feeble, they no longer gather the bits and pieces that preoccupied their lives. For years, their environments were their attics. Trained to work with their hands as masons and carpenters, some of the men found this other outlet. Grandma Prisbrey, the grand accumulator of them all, began with her pencil collection. It seemed she just wanted a place to store her brightly colored No. 2s outside the cramped trailer. Grandma put the pencils in a pinwheel. Then she

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THE COLLAPSE OF ASTRONOMY

Evening lolls by the pasture gate,
Its brazen palms
Raised
In a gesture of benediction.

A powdery snow flecks the bull's hide.
Closer, I see
It is the stars that have drifted down
In dense droves

Seeking this more
Intimate sky
Where the instant is enough

Where the kiss of animal warmth
Is both
Homecoming and
Goodbye.

Thomas Johnson

needed a wall. When she had ornamented the wall with pencil-studded circles, she needed more walls. In less than thirty years, she assembled thirteen buildings and nine other structures in a space 40 by 300 feet. Then she ran out of room and quit.

What inspires these *oeuvres*? God and immortality is the easy answer and, in part, the true one. James Hampton, a janitor at the GSA, layered and shaped foil on furniture and light bulbs to create in his Washington, D.C. cellar a chamber fit for the worship of the Lord. The dazzling, gaudy collection of throne and furnishings sits on a platform in the Minneapolis exhibition. The Lord called Jesse Howard, too. The man called "the Grandma Moses of print culture" praised God and abominated the Reds in words painted on fences and artfully assembled wagons in Missouri.

S.P. Dinsmoor built a complete Garden of Eden. He started his hallelujah on a half-acre corner lot in Lucas, Kan. in 1905, fashioning fantastic concrete trees and serpents, an Adam carved in his own likeness and a mausoleum—in which he and his wife were finally laid to rest. Immortality, according to the biographer, is also the aim of Fred Smith, whose 203 glass-flecked figures stand along Route 13 in Wisconsin. Louis C. Wippich's "Molehill," part dense Druid ruin, part medieval shrine, is architecturally the most sophisticated of the lot but, again, his astounding structure is dedicated to the divine: "You go up to the pulpit and preach, if you'd like," Wippich is recorded as saying at his place in Sauk Rapids, Minn. in one of the fascinating interviews that enliven the catalogue. "Go up there first and see if you feel different."

Beyond guaranteeing good relations with God, picking up a few pennies from the tourists and filling idle hours, then, "feeling different" may be what this, like all architecture, is about. They don't quite say that here. "To dress the place up" is the motive for Herman Rusch's 2-acre "Prairie Moon and Garden," with its scalloped and turreted gate. But most don't think enough of "dressing up" to justify the art, and the love of the Lord is used to justify their labors to a pragmatic world. Like the rest of us, these "naives and visionaries" require either God or Mammon to defend their work. Only Christ can call forth St. Peter's and Mammon conjure up Venice—in the textbooks, that is. Yet, as we all know, and as these works themselves and those of all great builders testify, it is otherwise: only pure love of the process of place-making, and worship of the product or place made, could bring us such works. These qualities of all architecture are revealed anew, and delightfully, in the ebullience of the naive and visionary built worlds which have stood too long off the beaten path. □

MUSIC

DAVID HAMILTON

The structural parallels between Verdi's *La Forza del Destino* and Mussorgsky's *Boris Godunov*—both share a rambling, episodic dramaturgy—are matched by other, historical similarities. Both were first performed in St. Petersburg: Verdi's opera in 1862, Mussorgsky's in 1874. Both were revised by their composers: Verdi modified *Forza* for an 1869 Milan revival, and *Boris* was significantly rebuilt before its first performance. Further, both are still subject to tinkerings by impresarios and conductors, evidently on the principle that loosely built operas cannot be made looser, so you are entitled to manhandle them.

This season's "newly staged production" of *Forza*, still in Eugene Berman's handsome if determinedly and inappropriately classicizing sets but with the action reworked by John Dexter, generously restores the crucial if awkwardly constructed Inn Scene, and returns the Overture to the only proper place for an overture, thus undoing the most damaging depredations of the curious edition the late Fritz Stiedry introduced in 1952. But now the second half of Act III (labeled Act II at the Met, since the first two acts are run together without intermission), which in the Stiedry years and later was variously abridged, is all upturned; the result is not, as has been alleged, to restore Verdi's first thoughts for St. Petersburg (in that version the act ended with a tenor solo), but to achieve an ineffective and uncharacteristic curtain, further weakened because the present tenor avoids the requisite high note. It isn't even musically complete, for a charming and atmospheric choral number, written for the Milan performances, has been lost in the shuffle.

What with all this (and the recent *Boris* manipulations, along with such earlier events as the spurious "original version" of *Carmen*), one is left wondering how such decisions are made at the Metropolitan. Does anybody speak for the composer? Is any attempt made to consult the latest findings of musical scholarship about the composer's intentions and their execution under his supervision? Or does every conductor and director have license to recompose?

Similar strictures might well be applied to details of stage direction: what would Verdi have said of Mr. Dexter's introduction of the mute figure of the leading baritone in the opening scene of *Forza*? Those who had seen Cornell MacNeil before, recognized him and knew from the program that he was playing the heroine's brother; others may have thought him an unwanted suitor—or God knows what. But Verdi went to a lot of trouble to introduce this character in a musically and dramatically effective way in the following act; he knew perfectly well that, barring exceptional circumstances and compensatory measures, nonsinging stage figures in opera are automatically unimportant figures. What earthly purpose was served by this lame invention?

The best thing in the Met performances is Gabriel Bacquier's inventively detailed and firmly sung portrayal of Fra Melitone, a minor but telling figure in Verdi's broad tapestry. None of the others on stage matched his complete physical command, so that Dexter's more ingenious bits of staging at critical moments failed to convince; only in rare cases can you expect opera singers to execute complicated maneuvers with any sort of flexibility, timing and conviction —better not ask for it in the first place. With Martina Arroyo (Leonora) and MacNeil (Don Carlo) in less than best voice, Jon Vickers (Don Alvaro) at his most mannered and expressionistic, and Nedda Casei (Preziosilla) decidedly out of her depth, it was not a happy evening vocally (I heard the second performance, on January 21). James Levine's enthusiasm in the pit is always welcome, but before long I will start expecting from him something more in the way of subtlety. □

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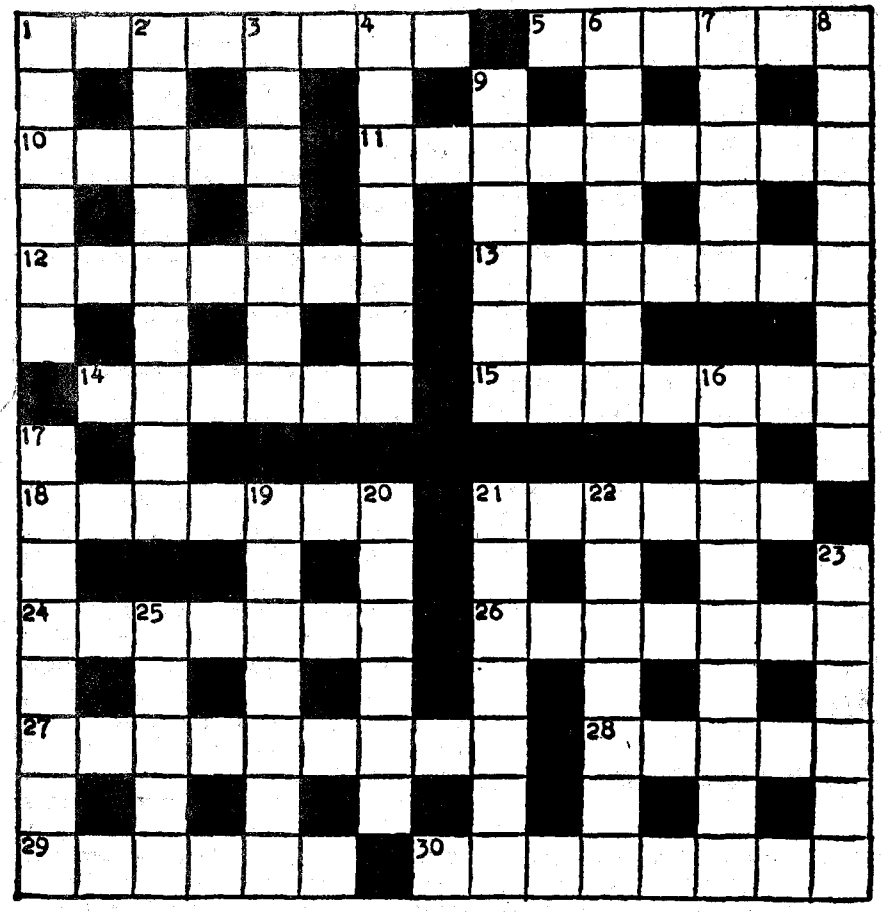
Crossword Puzzle No. 1573

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Possible near-fits, but still might be followed to a degree. (4,4)
5 See 12 across
10 See 4 down
11 A cause usually is. (9)
12 and 5 Political story which implies the shouting is over. (3,4,6)
13 Thin and frail. (7)
14 Shouldn't run very well, and goes rather quiet afterwards. (6)
15 How to improvise a tune on the back of the body? (7)
18 Probably a corruption of 21 across, if associated with such as Taffy. (7)
21 However, a BB, it seems, has enough to find its target at times.(6)
24 But Ophelia never got herself there. (7)
26 Small Italian instrument. (7)
27 What a sloth reputedly has. (9)
28 Fifty things batter shouldn't make? They're foolish and stupid! (5)
29 Applied to mechanical monkeys? (6)
30 Hangs on, perhaps. (8)

DOWN

1 Faces what the weatherman might be talking about. (6)
2 You might expect one after pot is taken, though the older implication was fairly liberal. (3,6)
3 Be a star, perhaps, or at least equal in progress. (7)
4 and 10 across Not necessarily where the USO troupes performed. (7,2,3)
6 An awkward count, in what might be extreme. (7)
7 Like a circle of *Three Blind Mice*? (5)
8 and 23 The old hitching post might, but such as this doesn't come from the patient. (4,4,6)
9 and 17 Making pictures, but not on stage? That's what the press does for you! (6,8)
16 After play, you might find them when a bad lie goes up. (9)
17 See 9 down
19 By the sound of it, a well-known group of insects. (7)
20 The judge might be, or he might find a garrulous attorney. (6)
21 Abundantly supplied. (7)
22 Clasps, but gives way under pressure. (7)
23 See 8 down
25 What a jogger might do. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1572

ACROSS: 1 and 6 Technical hitch; 9 Roger; 10 Shimmered; 11 Watchword; 12 Tesla; 13 Outre; 15 Identical; 18 Enshrined; 19 Havoc; 20 Belch; 22 Turboprop; 25 Anchor man; 26 Spike; 27 Dream; 28 Oversells. DOWN: 1 and 13 Throw overboard; 2 Cogitates; 3 North; 4 Custodian; 5 Laird; 6 Hemstitch; 7 Tires; 8 and 24 Hydraulic press; 14 Earthworm; 16 Endurance; 17 Cover girl; 21 Lucre; 22 Tempo; 23 Oasis.

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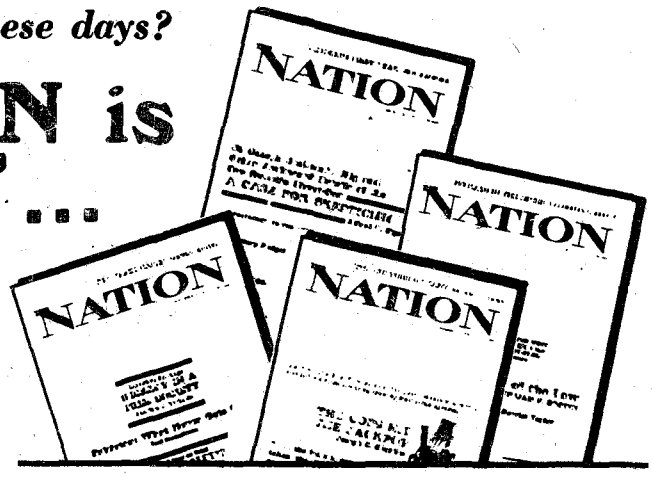

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• **1961** A special issue of The NATION was devoted to "Juggernaut: The Warfare State" by that ace investigative reporter, Fred J. Cook. It warned of the growing military-industrial complex. Many thought we were unpatriotic, paranoid. A decade later, the war in Southeast Asia and the Pentagon Papers proved otherwise. And in that same year, Fred J. Cook filled another special issue of The NATION . . . this time with a probe called "The CIA." He revealed facts that are only coming to light today. A seething nation now demands investigation. NATION readers knew about the CIA all along.

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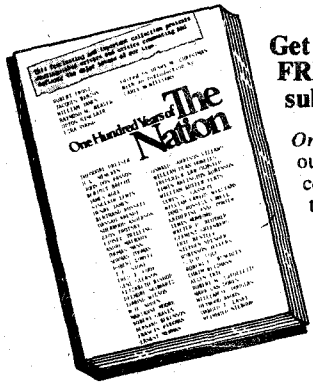

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